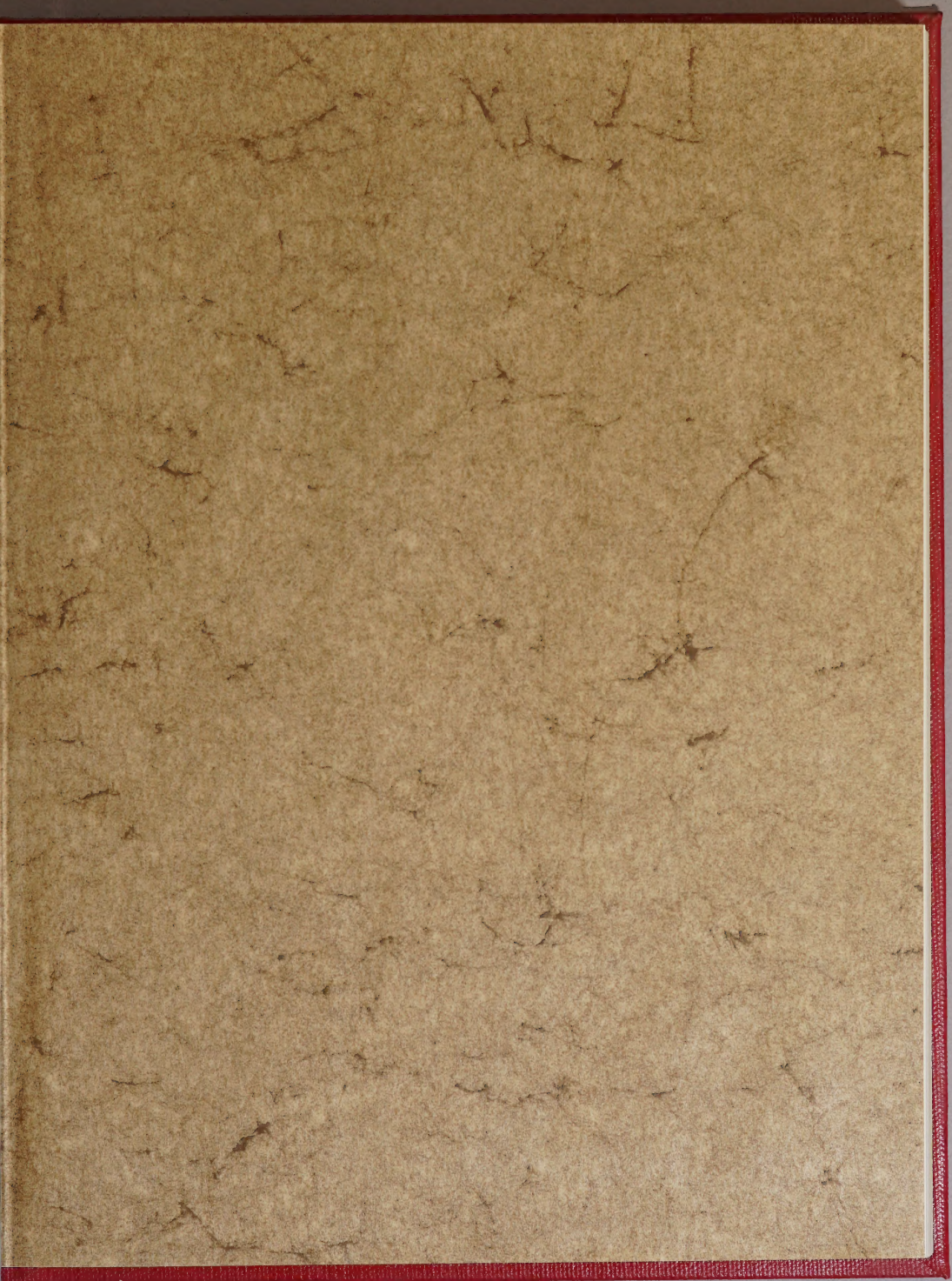
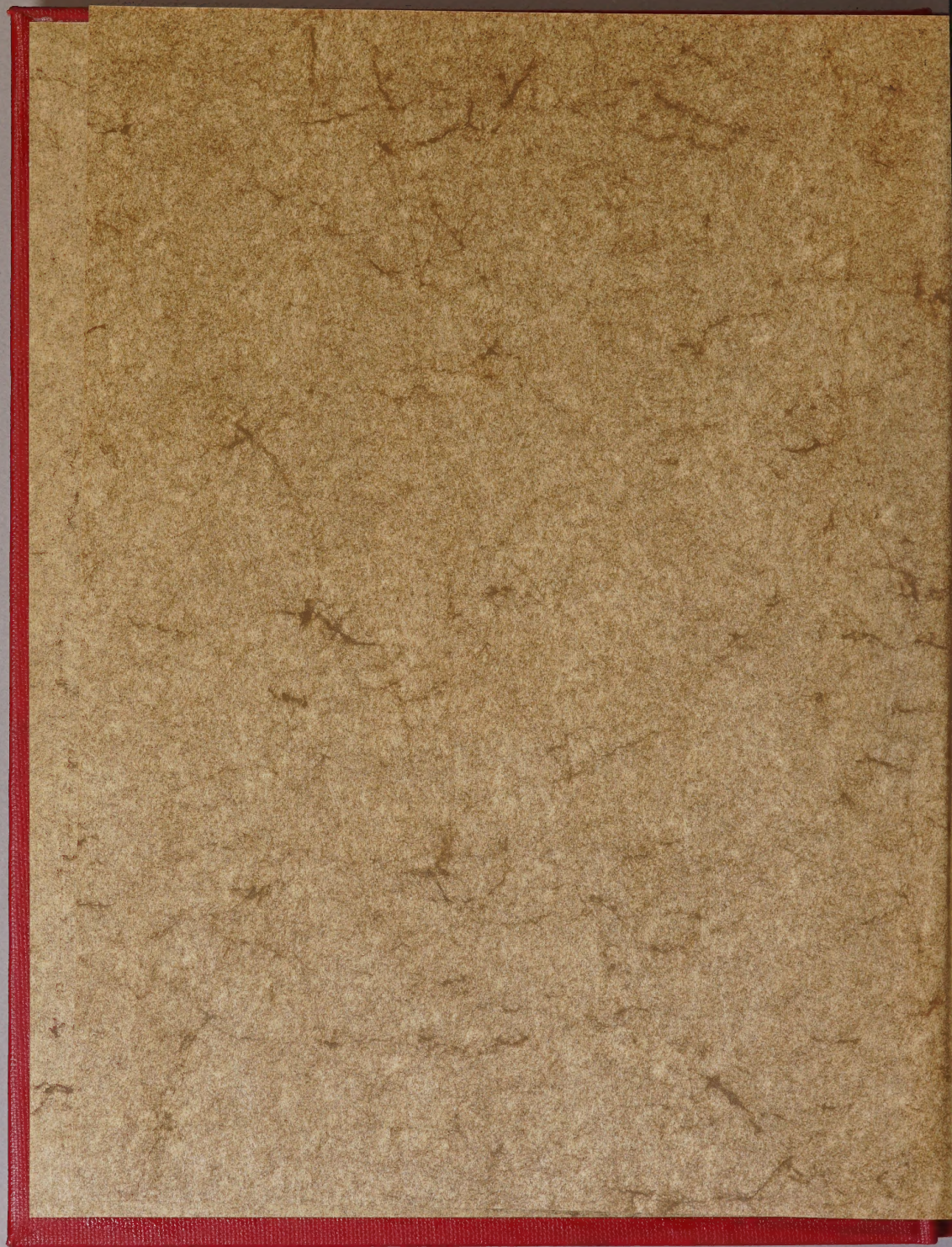




John Carter Brown
Library
Brown University

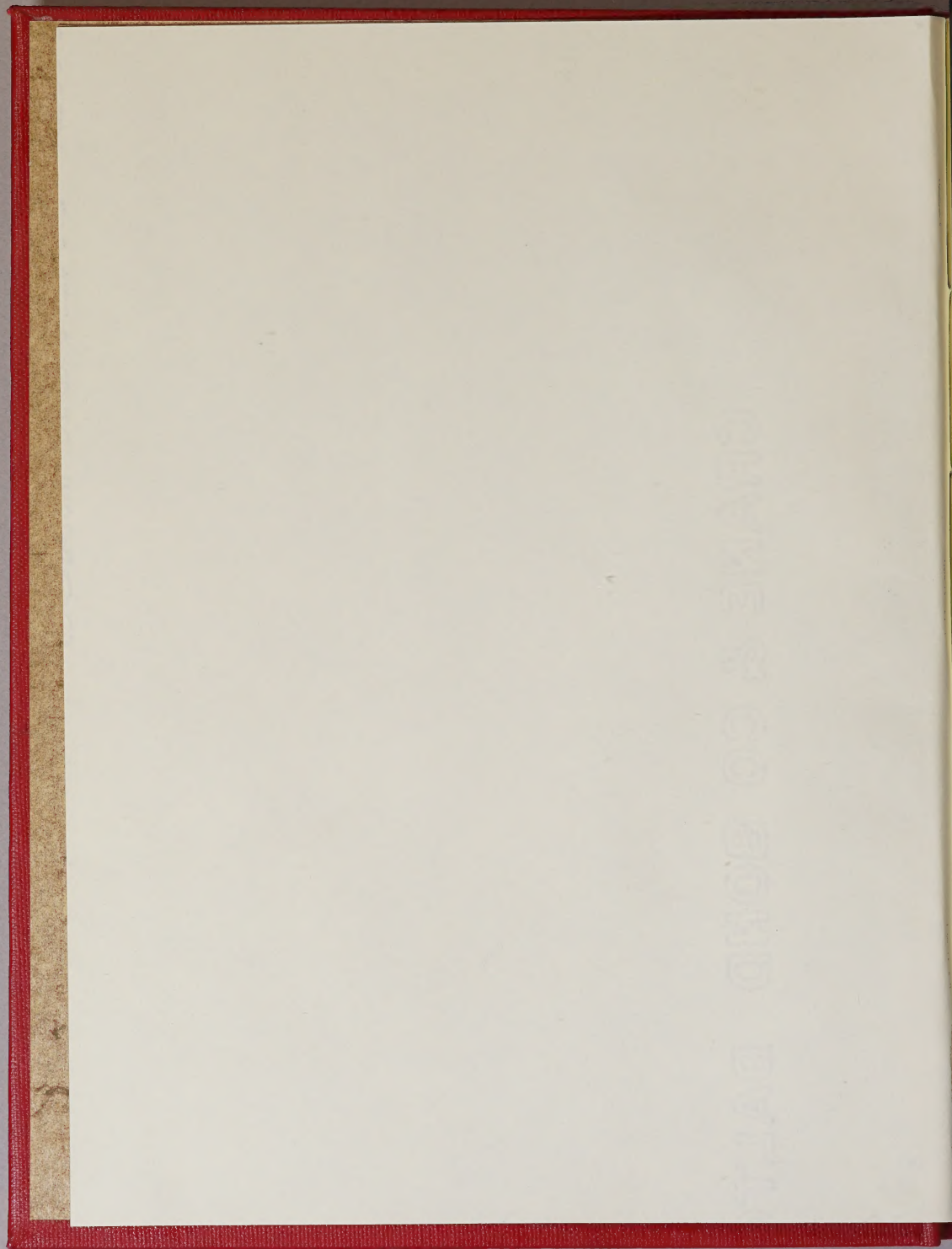




Informal Exhibition Catalogues
from the John Carter Brown Library
1683 - 1884

John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island

1987



**Informal Exhibition Catalogues
from the John Carter Brown Library
1983 - 1984**

Illustrations in the Index

Tower	# 1
Chimney	# 2
Swamp Church	# 3
Quarry	# 4

John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island
1987

Five copies of these assembled exhibition catalogues were bound up in 1987, for internal use at the Library. The index was prepared by Dagmar Schaeffer, a Brown University graduate student working at the Library.

Contents

1. *A Matter of Taste.* (March - April, 1984)
Prep. by Susan L. Danforth and Marsha E. E. Malinowski.
2. *The Recovery of the Classics and the Growth of Learning in the West.*
(Nov. 9 - Dec. 15, 1984)
Prep. by Marsha E. E. Malinowski.
3. *The Spanish Church and the New World in the Golden Age.* (Aug. 22, 1983)
Prep. by Everett C. Wilkie, Jr.
4. *Die wunderbare Neue Welt: German Works in the John Carter Brown Library.*
(May 3, 1983)
Prep. by Ilse E. Kramer.

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* * *

Shorttitles in the Index:

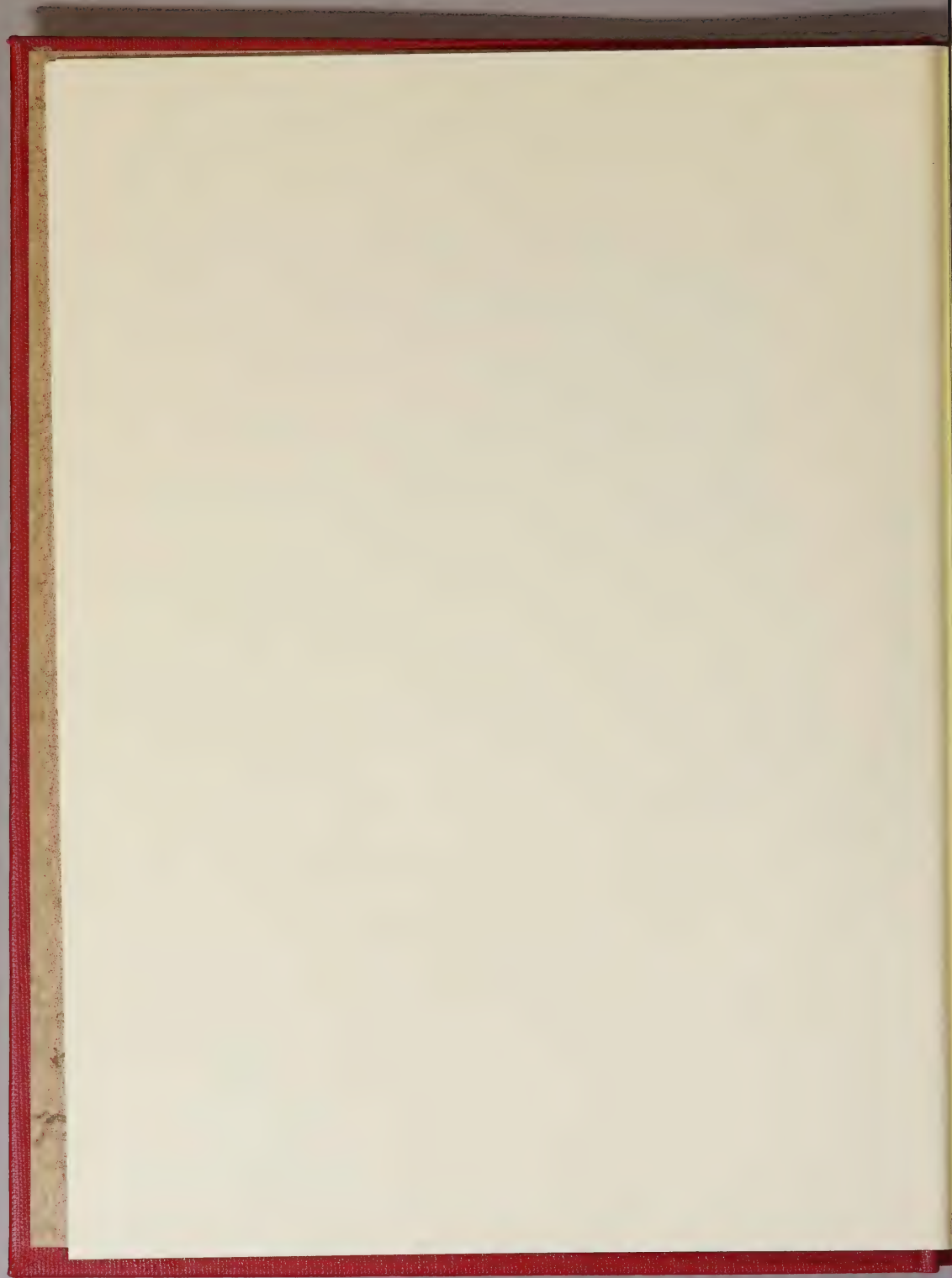
Taste	= 1.
Classics	= 2.
Spanish Church	= 3.
German	= 4.

The first of the three main parts of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. This part is written in a very clear and concise manner, and is well illustrated by numerous examples. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the theory of the subject. This part is written in a more technical manner, and is well illustrated by numerous examples. The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the practice of the subject. This part is written in a more practical manner, and is well illustrated by numerous examples.

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Præclara Ferdinādi.

Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hy
spania Narratio Sacratissimo. ac Inuictissi

mo Carolo Romanorū Imperatori semper Augusto, Hyspa
niarū, & ē Regi Anno Domini. M. D. XX. transmissa:

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colarū mores, puerorū Sacrificia, & Religiosas
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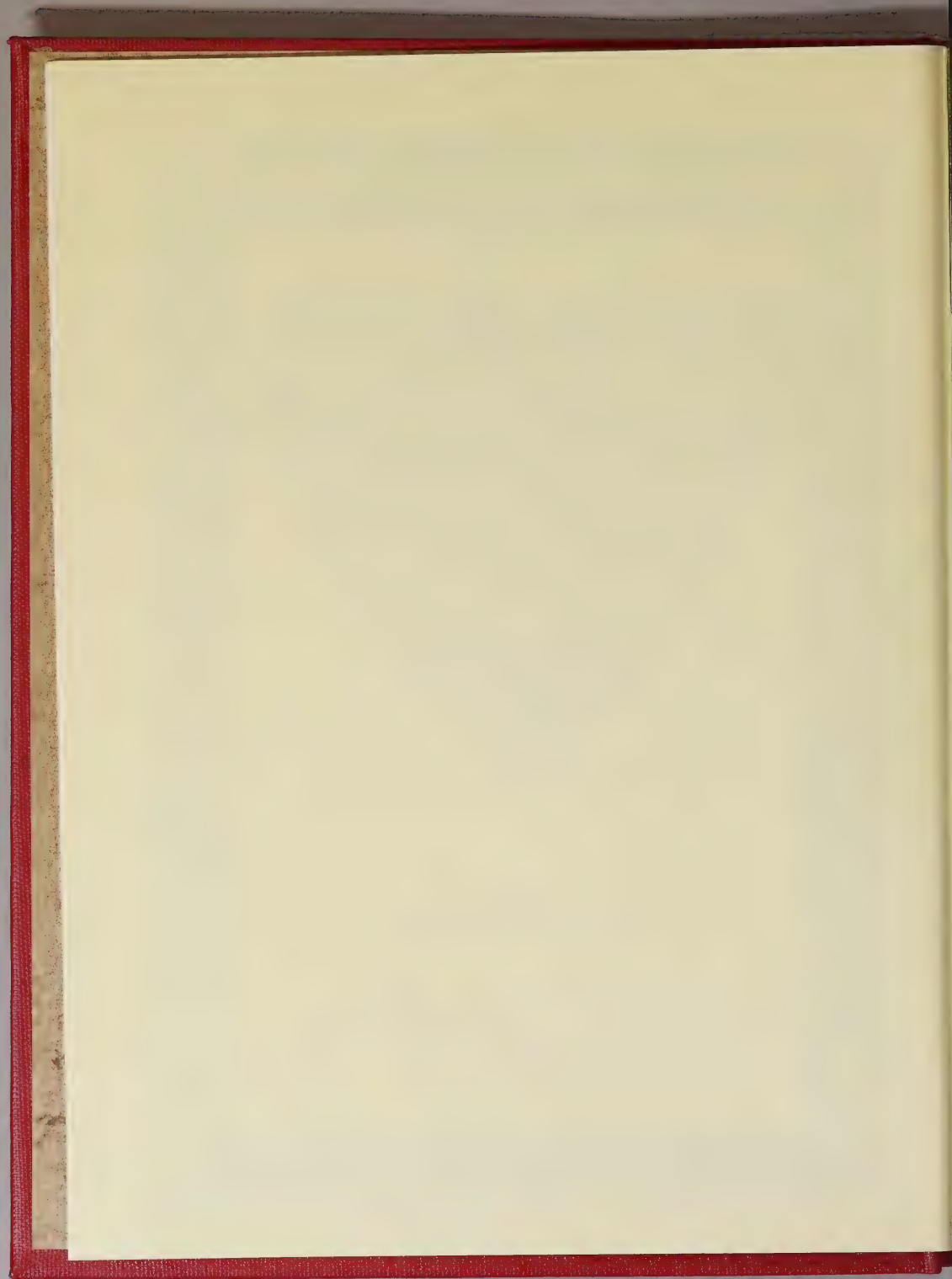
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Procurator



A MATTER OF TASTE

An Exhibition at the
John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island
March-April, 1984

Cover: Title page from Hernán Cortés. *Praeclara Ferdina[n]di* ... Nuremberg, 1524.

With the early John Carter Brown signature stamp.

A Matter of Taste

Man's urge to collect, preserve, and share the wealth of experience contained in books has always had a discernible effect, although sometimes subtle, on the physical character of the book itself. Whether the collector of ideas is an individual or an institution, the volumes acquired must be protected, preserved, arranged, and made accessible; in short, they must be considered as objects. Focusing upon acquisitions made in the nineteenth century, this exhibition provides examples from the John Carter Brown Library of some of the effects that taste and trends in book collecting have had on the book as an object. It will come as no surprise that the volumes most affected are those that aroused collectors' desire for their beauty and rarity.

While in some cases an observer might contend that practices typical of the times--Mexican book brands, ink library stamps on title pages, elaborate bindings--have not affected the integrity of the book as an expression of an idea, in other cases judgment may not be so certain. Nineteenth-century collectors' acceptance of "sophistication," the gathering together of bits and pieces of several copies to make one "complete" volume, is cause for concern to a scholar whose interest lies in textual integrity. The demand for carefully constructed facsimiles to complete imperfect books encouraged the specialized talents of artists and printers, and created a skilled group of craftsmen whose copies could fool the eye of the casual observer and could also, at times, cause consternation in scholars' and collectors' circles. Indeed, it is often a fine line that divides facsimile from forgery. In utilizing "rare books" as primary sources for research, an awareness of past practices can be enlightening and can aid today's scholar in the assessment of his material.

Necessarily, examples have been grouped into broad categories: identification, embellishment, and restoration, and finally a brief exploration of some particular challenges presented by facsimiles. We focus special attention upon the series of books published by Aldus Manutius and Theodor DeBry, volumes that bear the burden of a long history of collectibility (not necessarily linked to collectors' pursuit of Americana).

The section on the Aldines points up collection problems posed by this special group of books, actively collected as early as the sixteenth century and just as enthusiastically presented to the buying public in forged (or more fairly, perhaps, in "pirated" or "unauthorized") editions.

The DeBry "Grands" and "Petits" voyages were the first attempt to present to the European public a narrative and visual overview of the discoveries occurring on the fringes of the "civilized" world. Profusely illustrated and bibliographically complex, these books appealed to European collectors of "great books" and linked their traditional approach to the less usual subject collecting of men like John Carter Brown. The Library's set of DeBry consists of nearly 100 gold-tooled red morocco volumes uniformly bound by Francis Bedford.

We have made no attempt to be comprehensive, and an astute observer will discern that many of the books shown as examples in one category could just as well illustrate another. This exhibition has been presented, rather, as food for thought for the collector and *amateur* of books as objects and as ideas.

Catalogue and exhibition by Susan Danforth. Description of the Aldine collection by Marsha Malinowski.

CASE 1: IDENTIFICATION

Augustín Farfán. *Tratado Breve de Medicina*. Mexico, 1592.

Manual De Administrar los Santos Sacramentos. Mexico, 1638.

Manual De Administrar Los Santos Sacramentos. Mexico, 1731.

The book brand is a dramatic statement of ownership found most commonly on volumes with Mexican library provenance. Effective permanent identification, a brand could not be reversed. It could be altered, yes, and trimmed, certainly; but because these Mexican volumes were not sought by European and American collectors in the same way as the traditional "beautiful" and "important" books, they are less likely to have suffered trimming and gilding by European society binders and are often found in this, their original, condition.

Hernán Cortés. *Praeclara Ferdina[n]di ...* Nuremberg, 1524.

Controversy over whether or not to stamp the pages of a book with an owner's mark is not new; John Carter Brown debated the question in 1848. Initially, he mentioned book stamping only for the less valuable volumes, but apparently later became convinced that he should mark most of his collection. It is possible that he considered the red mark a lesser evil than loss or theft. Then, too, if he later decided to dispose of a book, the Brown library provenance could hardly lower its value.

Letter: John Carter Brown to John Russell Bartlett. November 14, 1848.

"What think you of the plan I have before suggested to you of having all my books stamped with my name or initials on the front or back of the fifth pages."

Bartolomeu Guerreiro. *Jornada dos vassalos da coroa de Portugal...* Lisbon, 1625.

[Willem Usselinx] *Argonautica Gustaviana ...* Frankfurt am Mayn, 1633.

A Relation of the Invasion and Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards ... London, 1686.

Although John Carter Brown did not apply the same standards used by the builders of the great private libraries in Europe in the selection of books for his collection, he did have a feeling for the proper presentation of a book as an object. *En bloc* purchases of books from the dispersed library of Henri Ternaux-Compans brought the French collector's characteristic ram's head stamp to Brown's notice and provided an example for the treatment of his own library.

Letter: John Carter Brown to John Russell Bartlett. June 5, 1848.

"The small stamp, of my crest & initials never quite filled my eye--the large ones, the J.C.B. and also the arms--such as are on my Bibles fully meet my views--now, if I had one about the size of that you had made for me, only much better done, I should like to have them affixed to a portion of my books, if they could be done in the style of Ternaux, by some skilful artist of taste and knowledge in those things,--at the same time to have the stamp in red affixed to the pamphlets and the more ordinary books.

What would be the cost of stamping books as Ternaux's are done?"

William Stephens. *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia ...* London, 1742, vol. 1.

Collectors typically expend great effort in the design and execution of bookplates to grace the inside covers of their books, both as a decorative mark of possession and as insurance that borrowed volumes will eventually find their way home again. Bookplates sometimes make it possible to follow the path of ownership from collection to collection, and this record of provenance is an integral part of the history of the book as an object and as an idea.

Bookplate: John Percival, Earl of Egmont (1633-1748). Trustee of the colony of Georgia.

Bookplate: John Carter Brown.

Before this volume was given to the John Hay Library, it was one of a group of rare books stolen from a private collection. In an attempt to cover his tracks, the thief removed the rightful owner's bookplate and placed this "Star Wars"-inspired design over the telltale mark left by the old plate. The West Coast dealer to whom the books were offered was suspicious of the thief's story about the provenance of the volumes—it didn't seem plausible that the books (graced by this plate) had lain unnoticed for years in a grandmother's attic.

On the basis of this and other evidence, the authorities were notified, the thief was caught and sentenced, and the books were returned to

their rightful owner. (Courtesy of the John Hay Library)

CASE 2: BINDING

Christopher Columbus. *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*. Rome, 1493. Bound for John Nicholas Brown by Cuzin.

Samuel de Champlain. *Brief Discours ...* Manuscript, [1602]. Bound for John Nicholas Brown by Thibaron-Joly.

Bindings, of course, served purposes other than owner identification. A rare, long-sought-after book was treated as an elusive prize which, when secured, was decorated as befitted its station. Fine bindings are labor-intensive and, as such, are an endangered species. Red naugahyde can never approach morocco and, whether or not one shares nineteenth-century aesthetic taste, it is always possible to appreciate the skill, artistry, and effort that produced these superb bindings.

Jacob Steendam. *'t Lof Van Nuw-Nederland ...* Amsterdam, 1661. Bound for John Nicholas Brown by Chambolle-Duru.

Letter: John Nicholas Brown to John Russell Bartlett. June 4, 1883.

"I received a few days since your letter of May 18th and today found at the banker's the precious little Dutch tract, Steendam's "New Netherlands." This I shall forthwith take to the man recommended by Mr. Ellis as the best binder in Paris and let him repair it and put

it into one of his finest bindings--morocco, of course."

Juan González de Mendoza. *The Historie of the great and mightie Kingdome of China.*

London, 1588 [i.e. 1589]

Roger Payne (1739-1797) is considered to be the first binder to establish a truly English style of binding. John Nicholas Brown's request to have his "English Mendoça" bound in Bedford's "Roger Payne style" may well have been an early effort to have a book bound appropriately according to place of publication rather than sumptuously, according to its rarity.

Letter: John Nicholas Brown to John Russell Bartlett. May 24, 1883.

"First of all I have secured a copy of the long-looked for English Mendoça. Ellis had a copy and a fine one too--only a few leaves at the end being soiled. I bought it and left it with him to have bound in red morocco by Bedford, in his Roger Payne style"

Photograph: Roger Payne

The Whole book of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre. [Cambridge, Mass.]

1640.

The Bay Psalm Book is a great rarity. This is the only perfect copy still in its original binding and the only copy containing the signature of one the translators, Richard Mather. The Psalm Book almost received an elaborate new binding at the hands of Francis

Bedford. The binder fell ill, however, and John Nicholas Brown chose not to risk leaving the book in Bedford's London shop. Frank Ellis's comment in the letter below is an early example of a growing inclination to preserve a volume in its original condition--a desire to follow the dictates of the "character" of the book.

Letter: Frank Ellis to Sophia Augusta Brown, June 20, 1883.

"I am pleased to be able to tell you that I have got back the Psalmbook from Paris admirably got up so that I think you and Mr. John cannot fail to be pleased with it. It looks now as it must have done when a pilgrim father first carried it to meeting with him, barring perhaps the waterstains inside, but to have taken those all out would have destroyed the character of the book."

CASE 3: RESTORATION

The books essential to John Carter Brown's collection were not, for the most part, the same volumes sought by European buyers in the "great books" tradition. Although certainly rare in the nineteenth century, these books of American interest contained the practical accounts and discourses which had little history of collectibility in an artistic sense and, having been used rather than merely collected and protected, their condition was often worn--pages were missing, stained, and mutilated. Additionally, bibliographic control of the material at that time was minimal. Without these records, an ordinary tool today, assessment of certain elements of the book as an object--how many copies existed and what was an acceptable standard of condition--depended solely on the personal experience of booksellers and collectors in the field. For the John Carter Brown

collection, the end result of acquiring such truly "used" books was that many volumes came to the Library in need of repair. What follows are examples (and suggestions about the possible implications) of the restorer's art.

Martín Cortes. *Breve compendio de la sphere*. [Seville, 1551]

Bedford's restoration of the *Breve compendio* was extensive. The title page (an artist's facsimile) and the repair of the paper and lost text on the facing page are truly remarkable. The binder's bill states that paper restoration alone required 97 hours of work.

Invoice: Francis Bedford to the Estate of John Carter Brown. May 10, 1875.

Increase Mather. *The Right Way to Shake off a viper*. Boston, 1720.

It was seldom possible to acquire Mather sermons in good condition. Most of this material, so important for the study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American religious and moral thought, required considerable investment in preservation. Bedford's descriptive bill for a shipment of Mathers is illustrative of routine repair procedures.

Invoice: Francis Bedford to Sophia Augusta Brown. October 13, 1879.

Virginia Richly Valued. London, 1609.

In 1883 John Russell Bartlett sent the Brown copy of *Virginia Richly Valued* to London for rebinding. During the process, it was

discovered that the book was missing two leaves. After some correspondence, it was decided to have the missing pages copied in facsimile. When a perfect replacement could be found, Brown would "trade up" and sell his imperfect volume. A few years later, this copy was acquired at auction. The correspondence between Brown and the bookseller Henry N. Stevens explains the effect that the presence of facsimile leaves had on the value of a rare book.

Letter: John Nicholas Brown to Henry N. Stevens. February 3, 1890.

"When last in Europe I spoke to you of a copy of Hakluyt's Virginia Richly Valued of 1609. It is bound by F. Bedford, a very good copy except that pp. 67-70 (2 leaves) are in most admirable facsimile. Can you make me any good offer for this book?"

Letter: Henry N. Stevens to John Nicholas Brown. February 14, 1890.

"Respecting your copy of Virginia Richly Valued 1609 (2 leaves in facsimile) I notice that perfect copies have sold in modern times for from £ 30 to £ 50. The facsimile leaves make a great difference in the price of a book and they are much more difficult to sell as collectors of this class of book prefer to wait till they get a perfect copy. Still it is a very rare book and I should be willing to allow £ 15 for it in exchange and trust that you will consider that a reasonable offer."

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. *La relacion ...* Zamora [1542].

This scarce volume, presented to the Library in 1919 by John Nicholas Brown (1900-1979), contains two facsimile leaves. A more

complete copy has not been found for a "trade up".

Letter: Frank Ellis to John Nicholas Brown. February 7, 1881.

The following passage concisely states one of the problems caused by excellent facsimile restorations.

"You may depend that every leaf is quite genuine. I would not on any account send out a book with a facsimile leaf without pointing it out, for as you say they are now sometimes so cleverly done as hardly to be recognizable."

CASE 4: FACSIMILES

Dionyse Settle. *A true report of the late voyage into the West and Northwest regions ...*

London, 1577.

and

Facsimile edition printed for John Carter Brown in 1868.

As has been suggested, identification of facsimiles (and forgeries) is often not a simple matter. Fortunately, some facsimiles present themselves in a straightforward manner. In 1868, John Carter Brown privately published this edition of his copy of Settle's account of Frobisher's voyage which he then distributed to fellow collectors, friends, and scholars.

Humphrey Gilbert. *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia*. London, 1576.

J. Harris was an artist who worked in London. His initials can be detected at the lower right of this map that was drawn to complete Brown's copy of the Gilbert *Discourse* of 1576. Harris did not always sign his work, however, and the high quality of his facsimiles created the potential for confusion, as shown in this letter from Henry N. Stevens.

Letter: Henry N. Stevens to E.B. Nicholson of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. July 4, 1893
(copy)

"He [John Nicholas Brown] says that you state that 5 copies [of the Paris Columbus Letter] are known, but he only knows of 3, viz: the two in the Bodleian & one in the University Library Gottingen ... He desires us to ask whether you have included in the 5, the copy in the Library of the late Mr. John Carter Brown of Providence, because he says that that copy is only a clever facsimile which deceived the compilers of the catalogue... Presumably it is one of the 5 facsimiles made by Harris."

Christopher Columbus. *Epistola*. Paris, [1493]

Christopher Columbus. *Epistola*. Paris, [1493] facsimile.

"Columbus Letters," the publications through which the discovery of the New World was announced to Europe, have always been highly collectible and, as such, were fitting subjects for both the facsimilist's and the forger's art. The first letter (in Spanish) was

published in the spring of 1493. Before 1498, eight issues and editions had been published in Latin and two more in German and Spanish.

It often requires a highly trained eye to distinguish between the genuine and the copy, and sometimes characteristics which signal a copy are apparent only when closely compared with a piece known to be genuine. The Paris facsimile shown here is the one to which the transcription of Stevens' letter of July 4, 1893, above, refers.

Letter: Wilberforce Eames to John Nicholas Brown. July 14, 1891.

This letter from Wilberforce Eames to John Nicholas Brown provides a superb contemporary assessment of a Spanish Columbus Letter that had surfaced in London. The heated controversy over whether it was real or fake lasted for some time.

"You ask my opinion of the authenticity of the Ellis Columbus letter in quarto.--I believe it to be an attempt to counterfeit the facsimile of the Ambrosian copy, and a very blundering attempt too. The Ambrosian facsimile, by the way, must have been lithographed from a hand-tracing, and not directly from an original photograph. In some places the words and letters are not uniformly or plainly formed, but still they could be easily recognized and understood by any one acquainted with Spanish. The maker of the Ellis quarto, however, shows his ignorance of the language in nearly every line.... But the worst part of the job is, that in order to make every line begin like the Ambrosian facsimile, the counterfeiter was obliged in quite a number of cases to omit letters or whole words at or near the

ends of of certain lines which he had carelessly spread out too much at the beginning. This of course makes the text unreadable without the help of the Ambrosian facsimile....It seems to me to have been prepared to sell as an antiquity, to those not very familiar with the language."

Giovanni Vespucci. *Von der neu gefunden Region ...* [Nuremberg, 1506]

The usual situation, reversed. The pencil note on the preliminary leaf states that this German edition of Vespucci was, for many years, thought to be a facsimile. Careful examination by Wilberforce Eames established it as genuine.

CASE 5: SOPHISTICATION

In the book world, sophistication is defined as the process through which sections of various copies of a particular edition of a book are combined to make one volume which is bibliographically complete. These days the practice is frowned upon, but in the nineteenth century it was more acceptable, understood by dealers and collectors alike. This is not to imply that collectors lacked an appreciation of original condition. Outside the field of Americana, for instance, John Nicholas Brown was determined to acquire only perfect books, and he regularly rejected copies that had been too often through the hands of the binder and restorer. It was unrealistic, however, for collectors to expect to achieve the same standards of condition for books of American interest. When these titles appeared in nineteenth-century London bookshops and auction rooms, it was apparent that previous owners had seldom treated them as precious possessions.

Leyes y ordenancas nueuamete hechas por su Magestad ... Alcala, 1543.

In this volume, evidence of sophistication is plain to the eye. Of the two copies used, one was large and relatively clean while the other was cropped and stained. The restorer had to clean and extend the pages of the latter copy to match.

Fray Juan Bautista. [*Huehuetlahtolli, platicas morales de los Indios*] [Mexico, 1601]

The process of sophistication incomplete. Over the years John Carter Brown, Sophia Augusta Brown, John Russell Bartlett, Rush Hawkins, and John Nicholas Brown had all tried to complete this imperfect Mexican volume. In 1883 John Russell Bartlett suggested that it be bound, though still imperfect. It was then cleaned and bound in inexpensive forell. Later, another copy was acquired and the required leaves were separated and tucked inside the newly bound volume. Still awaiting completion, both copies sit side by side on the shelves.

[Melchisédech Thévenot] *Relations De Divers Voyages Curieux Qui N'Ont Point Esté Publiees ...* Paris, 1663, vol. 4.

The issues of Thevenot are highly collectible Americana, and acquisition of the many variants was a challenge few serious collectors could ignore. The typical process of completing imperfect copies is well-illustrated by this letter from Henry N. Stevens to John Nicholas Brown.

Letter: Henry Stevens to John Carter Brown. April 7, 1869.

"Mr. Lenox has told me much about your Thevenot which led me to think there must be some mistake. So I have unpacked a box of books that came from you & I find a 4th Part of Thevenot with many titles & variations. This was intended to aid in making up your copy, the duplicates only to come back to me. I will send it [again] to you tomorrow & when you have culled it over, you may return the duplicates--I think there are some leaves which even Mr. Lenox has not."

John Smith. *The True Travels, Adventures, And Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith ...*

London, 1630. (From the Library of Charles II. Called the "Royal copy")

While volumes were often upgraded or completed through sophistication, there was a growing awareness during the closing years of the nineteenth century that this course of action was not always the proper one.

Letter: Henry N. Stevens to John Nicholas Brown. March 17, 1893.

"I have just come across an imperfect copy of Smith's True Travels and send it to you today. You are quite welcome to exchange any leaves from this out of the Royal copy I recently sold you if found desirable to do so on comparison. You will remember that one leaf was mended in margin. When done with please do me the favour to return this imperfect copy and the changed leaves from the Royal copy, as they will no doubt come in useful one day. Of course you will understand I make no charge for this."

Letter: John Nicholas Brown to Henry N. Stevens. April 1, 1893.

"I thank you very much for sending me the imperfect copy of Smith's True Travels and for your offer to allow me to take out any leaves that I wish and put them in my Royal copy of the same work. I will not avail myself of your offer because I prefer to keep this book as much as possible in its original state and I think it is best not to tamper with it."

CASE 6: THE "VOYAGES" OF THEODORE DE BRY

Henry Stevens of Vermont is perhaps the most colorful figure in mid-nineteenth century book collecting circles. An expatriate Yankee dealer who settled in London, Stevens's zeal as a book scout for his wealthy American clients is legendary. Making up volumes of de Bry "Grands" and "Petits" voyages was one of his specialties, and sets of this work in the Newberry Library, the New York Public Library, and here in the John Carter Brown were assembled, in large part, by Henry Stevens.

Theodor de Bry. Great Voyages--Latin 8. Frankfurt, 1599.

Theodor de Bry. Small Voyages--German 1. Frankfurt, 1609.

The travel narratives published by Theodore de Bry were the first attempt to present the European public with an overview of the discoveries taking place on the fringes of the "civilized world." The common division of these works into the "Great Voyages" and the "Small Voyages" has nothing to do with the importance of the particular account--simply, the format of the "Great Voyages" is larger than that of the "Small Voyages." The John Carter Brown

Library has nearly one hundred identically bound volumes of editions, issues, and variants. Not everyone, however, accepted Stevens's pronouncements on what, exactly, was to be considered a "perfect" set, as shown by this comment from Serge Sobolewski, a noted Russian collector of De Bry.

Letter: Serge Sobolewski to John Carter Brown. December 12, 1868. Translated from the French.

"I take the liberty of addressing to you some observations and some questions, to which I would appreciate an answer from you or Mr. Bartlett, on your collection of De Bry, which I know is very beautiful for I have seen some of the volumes at Stevens's shop in London. I believe that our friend Stevens imagines editions and that he pays overmuch attention to the variations occasioned by typographical errors or caprices and blunders of the binder."

Variants and editions of De Bry were still a topic of conversation a generation later, illustrated by these letters between John Carter Brown's son, John Nicholas, and Henry Stevens's son, Henry N. Stevens.

Letter: Henry Stevens to John Nicholas Brown. November 25, 1892.

"I have just run to earth after many years patient looking out, one of two parts of De Bry which have eluded all the great collectors of modern times. Ever since I secured this yesterday I have been turning over in my mind the question as to whom I should first offer

my treasure, and feeling my allegiance is perhaps due more to you than anyone else I have decided to give you the first chance and I have accordingly mailed the part to you today for your inspection. It is the third edition of Part II Florida and is so rare that I can trace only one other copy of this variation."

Letter: John Nicholas Brown to Henry N. Stevens. December 27, 1892.

"I send to you today by registered mail the part of De Bry which you sent me recently. I have not the slightest doubt as to the rarity of this book, but I do not feel like paying £ 105 or anything like that for a single part, which after all is a mere variation of parts, which I already have."

Most sets of De Bry and Hulsius preserved in institutions such as the John Carter Brown Library are "sophisticated." Indeed, legend holds that Stevens had stacks of leaves in the cellar of his shop which he collated into volumes and sets upon demand. Whether or not this story is true, it is certain that there are very few volumes that remain in original condition, as issued.

Considering this collecting history, the following letters from Frank Ellis are especially interesting. John Nicholas Brown had acquired some volumes of DeBry with contemporary hand-colored plates, very rare. Some of the plates were missing, however, and the book was incomplete. The debate in the correspondence concerns the advisability of acquiring uncolored plates which an artist would then color to match the originals.

Letter: Frank Ellis to John Nicholas Brown. July 7, 1883.

"It is Part IV which wants four plates. It is very unlikely that one could meet with another coloured copy to make it up, but there would be no difficulty to find an odd part IV & take out the wanting plates & have them coloured in the same style."

Letter: Frank Ellis to John Nicholas Brown. October 2, 1883.

"I have got the plates 3, 7, 9, 22, 24 to put in your coloured part IV of DeBry ... They are not coloured & I think it would not be worth while to have them done so to imitate the others, as it would still be but an imitation."

In the rebinding process paper was routinely washed, sized, and often, bleached. It was necessary to handle the contemporarily colored de Bry more carefully, and it is possible to make a color comparison between paper washed in the routine manner and paper that has been dry-cleaned.

Invoice: Francis Bedford to Messrs. Rimell & Son (for John Carter Brown). August 23, 1874.

"DeBry Grande Voyages (America) Part 2. Frankf. 1591.

... the whole of the Vol dry cleaned and every leaf sized with the brush (being limp & tender) a very tiresome process & mended & map detached from clumsy thick patchings and carefully mended & lined at back with fine linen tinted to match the paper of the Vol all attended with much care & trouble soaking off patches from back margins of every leaf, the whole very troublesome. 42 hrs."

CASES 7 and 8: THE ALDINE PRESS

The Aldine Press, established in Venice in 1494, became one of the most distinguished printing and publishing houses in Europe during the sixteenth century. The Aldine family, particularly its founder, Aldus Pius Manutius, achieved great technical and typographical advancements with the introduction of italic type, Greek type, and the publication of scholarly editions of significant texts in a small, inexpensive format. Publishers in Lyon, Basel, Venice, and Toscolano produced a long and successful series of counterfeited Aldine books during the sixteenth century. These illegal editions captured the textual accuracy and the physical attributes of the originals and are ample proof of the rapid, positive reception which was accorded these innovative volumes.

Dante Alighieri. *Le terze rime di Dante*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502. (Courtesy of the John Hay Library)

Earlier editions of *Le Terze rime di Dante* were issued as large, imposing folios; the format of this edition, issued by the Aldine Press in 1502, is portable octavo. Produced with the aid of a precious manuscript given to Aldus by Pietro Bembo, this edition reflects Aldus' devotion to textual accuracy. Here, also, is the first use of the Aldine device. The dolphin, symbolizing speed and activity, is intertwined with the anchor representing stability and firmness: "Make haste slowly."

Dante Alighieri. *Le terze rime di Dante*. [Lyon?: Balthazard de Gabiano?, 1503?]

This is a counterfeit of Aldus' *Le terze rime di Dante*, 1502. The attention to detail and accuracy is of particular interest; from

signatures to type, this text matches the original. A tell-tale sign of fraud is the absence of a colophon statement giving the name of the printer and the place and date of publication (every text from the Aldine Press includes such pertinent information). In addition, the wide spacing of the title words differs from the narrower spacing of the Aldine original. Signatures and gatherings provide another indication of the piracy; the original Aldine edition's last two gatherings are marked G8 and H4, but this text finishes with one gathering marked G12 signalling a discrepancy in the production of these two texts.

Dante Alighieri. *Le terze rime di Dante*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1515.

The title page of this 1515 counterfeit is a facsimile of the title page of a genuine 1502 Aldine Dante. Although the colophon states that Aldus printed this text, the absence of the Aldine insignia and the difference in type reveal that this is not the case. It is impossible to state definitively from when, where, and whom this text emanates, but several have been attributed to presses in Venice, Lyon, and Toscolano.

Tito Vespasiano Strozzi. *Strozii poetae, pater et filius*. [Basel?: Westheimer?, between 1535 and 1540?]

The illegal reproduction of Aldus' *Strozii poetae pater et filius* is further evidence of the widespread popularity of the Aldine octavo. The presence of the anchor and dolphin insignia leads one to believe that this is an Aldine, yet the absence of any publication statement

triggers questions as to the authenticity of this text. In addition, Aldus divided his edition of *Strozii poetae* into two books with separate paging and signatures. This copy, however, has continuous paging and signatures which sets it apart from the original Aldine.

Lucanus. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502.

With commentary by J. Sulpicius and corrections by Aldus Manutius himself, this text, synthesized from primary manuscripts, embodies the skill and accuracy that earned the Aldine Press its fame. Most likely because of its high level of scholarship, this Aldine edition was illegally reproduced throughout southern Europe.

Lucanus.

The first and rarest counterfeit copy of the Aldine edition of 1502, this publication corresponds with the original Aldine edition in textual content and format. Yet, the lack of any information regarding place and date of publication as well as the famous Aldine anchor and dolphin, reveals that this text belongs to the long and successful series of unauthorized Aldine editions.

Catalogue of Aldine Editions and Rare Classical Works in the Library of John Carter Brown. Providence, 1862.

John Carter Brown's personal catalogue of his Aldine collection reveals that he was unaware that counterfeit Aldine editions were among his possessions. Entry 4 describes the 1515 edition of Dante as an authentic Aldine. Recent research by Marsha E. E.

Malinowski of the John Carter Brown Library, however, has revealed that this text is a counterfeit of the original Aldine edition of 1515 with a facsimile of the title page from the 1502 Aldine.

"4 Dante col sito, et Forma dell' Inferno tratta dalla istessa descrizione del Poeta. 8o Venetiis. 1515. Wanting first two leaves of second title."

Letter: F.S. Ellis to John Nicholas Brown. August 15th, 1885.

Although the Brown family was fooled by counterfeits, they were not the only dupes among collectors. Just as the popularity of the Aldines during the sixteenth century induced other publishers to pirate the Aldine designs and compositorial practices, other collectible editions led unscrupulous dealers to be so daring as to make up facsimile titles and prefaces and to attach them to worthless texts. Discussing the authenticity of the Ellis Columbus Letter in quarto, this communication from F. S. Ellis to John Nicolas Brown sheds light on the the scandalous practices of a book dealer in the late nineteenth century.

"... I do not know whether you read the London 'Atheneum'--there was an account of an elaborately contrived forgery in it a few weeks since. His modus operandi was to manufacture a title and preface and to supply the body of the book by some worthless volume--the scoundrel presuming on the buyer not looking beyond the title for some time at least...."

CASE 9: MAPS

Abraham Ortelius. *Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio*. (Courtesy of JoAnn and Richard Casten)

Abraham Ortelius. *Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio*. In: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1603.

Maps of geographical importance that are also decorative are more likely to have attracted the facsimilist's (or forger's) attention than less attractive productions. The map on the left is a forgery, copies of which have sold in recent years as originals. Although its deficiencies are obvious in comparison with the genuine map on the right, it could be quite convincing on its own, especially if shown framed. The most important evidence that it is a forgery is the size of the copperplate mark--the plate of the copy is larger than that used for the original.

CASE 10: A MATTER OF TASTE

In May, 1886, John Nicholas Brown bought this copy of Boccaccio's *La Ruine des Nobles Hommes et Femmes* (1476), an example of fine printing from the press of Colard Mansion. When purchased, the book was bound in vellum and was, on the whole, in excellent condition. The dealer through whom the volume was acquired recommended that restoration be kept to a minimum--a few pages could be mended and a case should be constructed for protection.

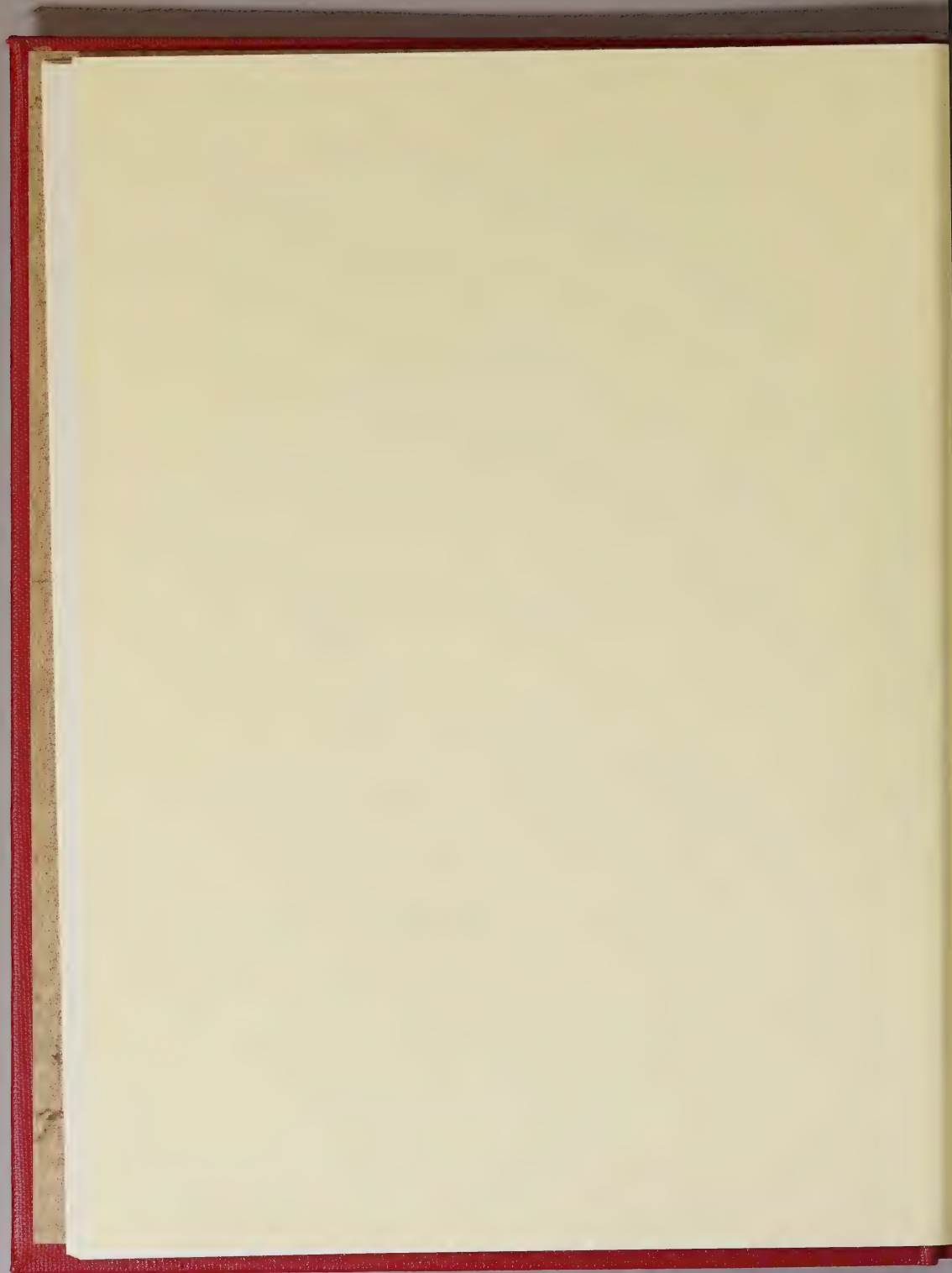
Letter: F.S. Ellis to John Nicholas Brown. July 20, 1886.

"As to the question you propose, it is a mere matter of fancy--the binding unquestionably is only a rough binding of the last century,

(if my memory serves me,) but certainly not the original--still the condition of the paper is that in which it issued from the hands of poor Colard Mansion and in its present condition you have the advantage--a very great one to the bibliographer--of seeing the strings of the binding & being able to see how the sheets were made up--the late Mr. Bradshaw of Cambridge University (Engl.) used always to lay great stress on the importance of this point, and he was one of the best bibliographers who ever lived. When once this volume has passed through the hands of the washer, "restorer," and binder, it will be to a certain extent sophisticated--I should keep it as it is--but as I began by saying, it is after all a matter of taste and feeling--there is also this--so long as the volume is in its present state you can always bind it, but once bound you cannot return it to its now condition."

The Boccaccio, enclosed in a morocco case by Zehnsdorf, arrived in Providence in the fall of 1886. After some consideration, Brown sent the book to Paris where it was rebound in black morocco.

Invoice: F. Cuzin to John Nicholas Brown. October 18, 1887.



*The Recovery of the Classics
and the
Growth of Learning in the West*

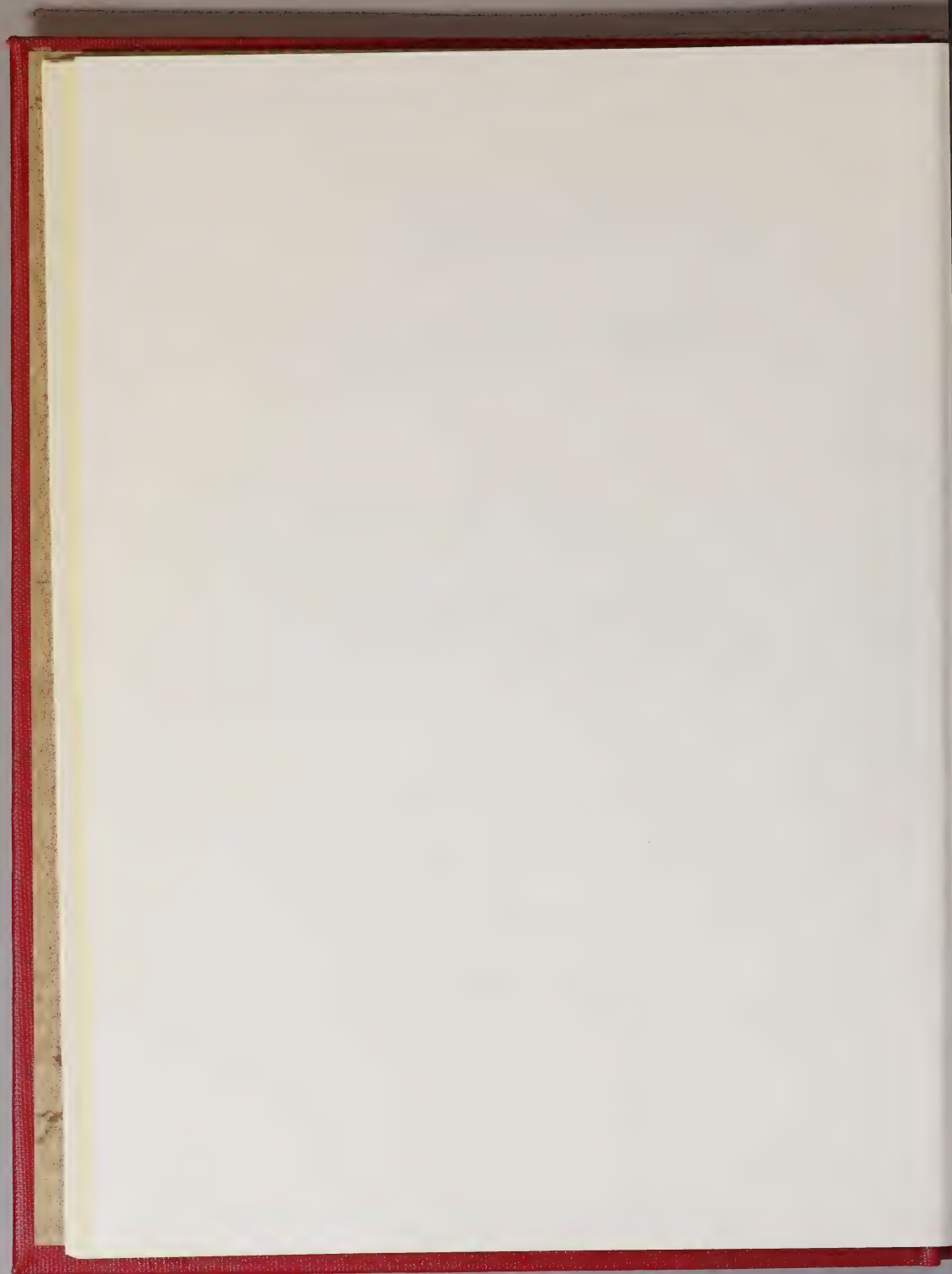
AN EXHIBITION AT
THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
BROWN UNIVERSITY
NOVEMBER 9 TO DECEMBER 15, 1984

Errata: p. iv, last line, for "Cogress" read 'Congress';
p. 7, line 20, for "della" read 'delle';
p. 15, line 19, for "tutti Paesi" read "tutti i Paesi".

THE RECOVERY OF THE CLASSICS
AND
THE GROWTH OF LEARNING IN THE WEST

An Exhibition at the
John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island

November 9 to December 15, 1984



FOREWORD

The John Carter Brown Library is an independently administered center for advanced research in the humanities located at Brown University. The core of the Library's distinguished collection of rare books and maps pertaining to the Americas between 1493 and ca. 1830 was assembled in the nineteenth century by John Carter Brown (1797-1874) and his son John Nicholas Brown (1861-1900). When John Nicholas Brown died in 1900, his will established the Library as a memorial to his father. The Library was bequeathed to Brown University with a special endowment providing for its future independence and the construction of a building to house the collection. Since the opening of the Library's doors in 1904, the collection has been constantly expanded, and at present its holdings exceed 50,000 titles.

Although the collection is made up almost entirely of books *about* the Americas, North and South, and of books printed *in* the Americas, the Brown family in the nineteenth century also took an interest in the early history of printing and from time to time bought certain rarities illustrative of that history. The glory of the Library's subcollection in this category is its holding of Aldines, that is, works printed by the great Venetian printer Aldus Manutius (1450?-1515) and his successors at the Aldine Press. The Library owns 295 Aldines, which is one of the largest collections of these valuable imprints to be found in the United States.

Aldus Manutius was a major figure in the history of printing not only because he was a pioneer in the new techniques of typography and book production, but also because he was a scholar in his own right who was dedicated to preserving from the ravages of ill circumstance the European inheritance of Greek and Roman letters. Until the invention of printing in the middle of the fifteenth century, the ancient Greek and Roman classics were available to interested readers only in fugitive manuscript copies. No other early printer equalled Aldus's devotion to turning these manuscripts into books, printed in multiple copies, before they might be lost to posterity.

The John Carter Brown Library's collection of Aldines has been safely ensconced in the stacks, but the individual volumes had never been properly described and catalogued in accordance with modern standards. In the spring of 1984, the Library received a grant from the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities to cover the cost of cataloguing these titles and entering the information in the national library database known as RLIN. The Library also received partial funding from the Committee to cover the cost of adding to this project a program of public education concerning the remarkable convergence in the Italian Renaissance of Humanist scholarship on the Classics and innovative printing and publishing.

The Library wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the financial assistance of the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities and the support for this project received from the Frank M. Barnard Foundation and from numerous individual donors. The Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities is an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Library also gratefully acknowledges the cooperation of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, the Art Department of Brown University, and the Library of Congress for loans of exhibition items.

THE ALDINE PRESS AND THE RECOVERY OF THE CLASSICS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The recovery of the literature of ancient Greece and Rome in the Italian Renaissance was a phase in the history of the transmission of the heritage of Classical antiquity of unparalleled importance. As Paul Kristeller has observed, "classical studies occupied in the Renaissance a more central place in the civilization of the period, and were more intimately linked with its other intellectual tendencies and achievements, than at any earlier or later time in the history of Western Europe."¹ Ultimately in the period of the Renaissance, a much more accurate and complete acquaintance with ancient Latin and especially Greek literature was attained than had been seen in preceding ages.

Johannes Gutenberg's perfection of printing techniques with movable type in approximately 1445 had a profound influence upon the spread of Classical learning from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The immediate effect of the invention of printing with movable type was to multiply the output and dramatically cut the cost of books. The printing press thus made the heritage of the past available to a far larger segment of the population than had been reachable earlier. One must remember the vast amounts of time and effort that scribes had previously invested in the creation of a single codex, or manuscript book. The long term effect of the invention of printing was an unprecedented increase in the rate of the dissemination of ideas. Because the new printing stimulated creative work in every area of human endeavor, the invention was of incalculable importance throughout the Western world. Although the origins of the new techniques of printing may be traced to the Germans, pride of place for the development of the industry goes to the Italians. In fact, in the last two decades of the fifteenth century, Italy was the greatest producer of books in Western society. Venice was one of the first cities in Italy

¹ Paul Kristeller, *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), pp. 7-8.

to establish a printing industry, and its printers soon became the most productive and prosperous.

The atmosphere of Venice in the late fifteenth century was conducive to the development of the printing industry: the city possessed a substantial reading public, extensive commercial connections, a large supply of skilled laborers, and easily attainable patents and copyrights. By the 1490s Venetian printers had achieved the most advanced typographical standards in Europe. Links with Greek-speaking countries and exposure to the scholarly traditions of Padua as well as the facilities offered by numerous printing presses enabled Venice to become the leading European center for the printing of Classical texts. It was in Venice that some of the first Greek type faces were created and refined. The following statistics reveal the preeminence of Venice in the world of printing in the late fifteenth century. Between 1495 and 1497, 1,821 publications were produced throughout Europe; of those, 447 were produced in Venice while only 181 were printed in the second most important printing center of the time, Paris. In addition, the 113 printers and publishers established in Venice turned out three-and-one-half times as many books as Milan, Florence, and Rome combined.

Much light may be shed on the extraordinary success of the Venetian printing industry in the late fifteenth century by examining the life and work of Aldus Manutius, the most famous of Venetian printers. Born in ca. 1450 at Bassiano, a small town near Rome, Aldus devoted his early years to rigorous study, concentrating particularly on Greek and Latin literature. Fascinated even with the microscopic questions concerning the languages of antiquity, Aldus developed a commitment to the importance of the study of Classical languages and the supremacy of their authority. After a six-year career in teaching, he turned his attention to the opportunities presented by the newly developed printing business. Printing was not, however, a departure from Aldus's previous endeavors as an educator; it was a continuation of them. Printing was a way of reaching more "students". Aware of the favorable environment in Venice for printing, he set up his new business there. The success of the Aldine Press was rapid and enduring.

Aldus's printing found a market principally among members of the Venetian diplomatic service, among foreign ambassadors, and among educators. He pioneered in the publication of the most important texts of ancient Greece and Rome and published also the best of contemporary vernacular authors, all of which were in great demand. With the aid of a cadre of skilled editors, the Aldine Press produced no less than ninety-four first editions of Classical Greek writers.

The period from approximately 1494 to 1503 proved to be one of extraordinary fulfillment for Aldus. Between those years the Aldine Press printed at least 6,447 folia in Greek and 5,646 folia in Latin. In addition, Aldus popularized the octavo-sized text (analogous to the twentieth-century pocket edition). The convenience of handling the octavo as opposed to the generally larger and more cumbersome folios and quartos of earlier years was a powerful factor in extending knowledge on a broader scale.

The exhibition, of which this catalogue is a permanent record, guides the viewer along certain key strands of the Renaissance with the contemporary book as the connecting thread. The stages of this progress are the transition from the written word to the printed word; the geographical shift from Germany to Italy in the growth of the printing industry; the recovery of the Classics under the vigorous impetus provided by the Humanists; and the success story of the Aldine Press. In addition to the use of books to illustrate these themes, the exhibition is enhanced by sculpture and prints that visually demonstrate the extraordinary impact of the Classics on Italian Renaissance culture.

Exhibition organized by Marsha E. E. Malinowski.

CASE 1: TRANSITION FROM THE WRITTEN WORD TO THE PRINTED WORD

The transition from script to print was far from a sudden and dramatic occurrence. The physical appearance of the printed book, for example, imitated the form of manuscript texts. Indeed, the first printers fashioned their type after the letter-forms used by scribes in the copying of manuscripts. Yet, texts set in type were able to replicate these characters again and again to an exact degree that could not be achieved even by the most skilled calligrapher. In addition, mass production of books began with the invention of printing. No number of busy scribes producing one copy at a time could equal the speed of output of the new printing. The consequent greater availability of texts led to a tremendous drop in book prices, with the result that significant literature was made accessible to a larger portion of the population.

1. Cortes, Hernando. *Siguese la sesta relacion qu[e] el d[ic]ho Capitan general herna[n]do cortes escrivio.....* c. 1526.

This is the full text of Cortes's account of his last campaign before his would-be triumphant return to Spain. The manuscript, prepared by a professional scribe, illustrates the extensive labor involved in the production of a single finished copy of a work. The finely detailed and intricate penmanship represents a level of craftsmanship not easily reproduced.

2. Hernandez, Francisco. *De materia medica Novae Hispaniae Philippi secundi Hispaniarum ac Indiarum Regis invictissimi iussu collecta a Doctori Francisco Hernando Novi Orbis primario ac in ordinem digesta a Doctore Nardo Antonio Recco eiusdem Maiestatis medico libri quatuor.* 1577-1589.

Designated royal Protomedicus in New Spain by Philip II, Hernandez spent the years 1570-77 collecting specimens and relics, and viewing, recording, and describing minerals, flora, fauna, and sites of ethnographical interest. An epitome of the results of his researches into the natural history of sub-tropical North America, this codex contains numerous textual errors. Each time a text was copied or recopied errors were bound to creep in. The printing press alleviated

this problem by introducing an exactly and totally repeatable form of communication.

3. *Biblia Pauperum*. The Netherlands, c. 1460-1470.

The text and pictures in this book were printed entirely from woodcuts, a cumbersome alternative to printing with movable type. So-called "block books" of this kind were primarily produced in the fifteenth century in the Netherlands and Germany. Although printing from type had begun and was spreading, block books had some appeal: they were simple to produce, requiring neither cases of specially molded letterforms nor efficient pressmen; and they were cheaper, intended for a relatively poor and unsophisticated public for whom typeset books were often unintelligible and too costly.

4. *Biblia latina*. Mainz, Gutenberg, 1455-56.

Printed on vellum, these two leaves are from the first book created by the printing press with movable type, the Gutenberg Bible. The resemblance of Gutenberg's type to the calligraphy of medieval scribes is immediately noticeable.

CASE 2: PRINTING IN GERMANY AND ITALY

The invention of printing with movable type effected a tremendous transformation in the Western world. Printing, the new craft and trade, developed with a speed that could not have been anticipated, and the implications of this development for society, politics, and intellectual life could hardly have been foreseen. By 1500, printing presses were established in over two hundred towns, and in many communities two or more printers were operating. Although Germany was the birthplace of the invention, Italy soon after became its principal home.

5. Photograph: Durer, Albrecht. *Drawing of a Press and Printer*. 1511.

Durer's faithful attention to realistic detail and his scientific interest give his works of art a character of their own. This talent coupled with his intimate knowledge of printing office

procedures (Durer's godfather was the prominent German publisher Anton Koberger who had established the first printing press at Nuremberg in 1470) make this sketch from the hand of the great artist the clearest depiction of printing that has come down to us from the sixteenth century.

6. *Regule ordinaciones [sic][et] constitutiones cancellarie santissimi domini nostri domi[ni] Sixti...correcte in Cancellaria Apostolica.* Strasbourg, 1471.

Like all very early printed books this incunable has no title page, page numbers, or catchwords. In addition, the type strives to imitate the handmade books of previous years. Published in Strasbourg twelve years before the birth of Martin Luther and before any encroachments had been made upon the power of the Pope by the Reformation, the text is of interest as an illustration of the extraordinary power of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484).

7. Ptolemaeus, Claudius. *Cosmographia.* Bologna, 1477.

The works of the Greek geographer Ptolemy first became available in Italy in 1406, at a time when many early Greek manuscripts were being translated into Latin for the first time. Without delay, Italian scholars began to adopt Ptolemy's rigorous mathematical system as a foundation for their own studies in geography and astronomy. Scholars combined the technical mathematical procedures of Ptolemy with the increasingly available journals of voyagers' observations to create a new analytical geography. This is the first edition of Ptolemy with maps, and it is the first book to be illustrated with copper plate engravings.

8. Dionysius Periegetes. *De situ orbis.* Venice, 1498.

A translation of the original Greek hexametrical text by Antonio Beccaria, this book is an outstanding example of the high caliber of book production in Italy in the late fifteenth century. The presentation of the textual commentary in the margins of each page and the lucid type are particularly notable.

9. Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499.

This unique text, one of the great Aldines, is a melange of artistic descriptions, architectural ideas, and exotic woodcuts. The work exudes an ardent admiration for the chefs d'oeuvre of antiquity. Written in Italian with phrases of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and French scattered throughout, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* is a microcosm of the great innovations in the realms of art and literature during the Renaissance period. Of particular importance is the combination of woodcuts and lead type on a single page—a printing technique developed in the mid-fifteenth century. This volume is on loan from the Library of Congress.

CASE 3: THE HUMANIST IMPETUS

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Italian city-states became the leading centers of European intellectual and artistic culture. In the field of letters and learning, the most characteristic and most pervasive aspect of the Italian Renaissance proved to be the Humanist movement. Guided by their enthusiasm for everything ancient and by a conscious program of imitating and reviving Greek and Roman learning and literature, the Humanists brought to their comprehensive interest in Classical literature an enormous amount of energy and devotion. Thus, Humanism, a general tendency to attach the greatest importance to Classical studies and to consider Classical antiquity as the common standard and model for all cultural activities, moved to the forefront of Renaissance thought. Aided by the power of the printing press, a profusion of literature steeped in the influence of Classical antiquity inundated bookmarkets.

10. Petrarca, Francesco. *Chronica della vite de pontefici et imperatori romani ...* Venice, 1507.

11. Petrarca, Francesco. *Il Petrarca*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1546.

In 1436 Leonardo Bruni, the renowned Florentine Humanist, wrote: "Petrarch was the first man to have had a sufficiently fine mind to recognize the gracefulness of the lost ancient style and to bring it back to life." To the present day Petrarch (1304-1374) is generally regarded as the

true father of the new devotion to the *studia humanitatis*. The first of these two texts is an example of Petrarch's own work in Classical studies; the second is a printing by the firm of Aldus of an edition of Petrarch's writings published more than 200 years after his death, which illustrates the enduring interest in his work.

12. Poliziano, Angelo. *Omnium operum*. Paris, 1519.

Poliziano (Politian) (1454-1494), a Humanist poet and literary critic did many translations of the ancient Classics. His interest in the relationship between rhetoric and citizenship, a typical Humanist concern, is indicated by his statement that "there is nothing more fertile and useful than to persuade one's fellow citizens by means of words, so that they perform actions advantageous to the state and refrain from those that are damaging." This volume, containing all of Poliziano's work, is of particular interest because of the sophisticated printing methods utilized in its production. Note the changes in type style and ornamental initials embellishing the text.

13. Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni Francesco. *Staurostichon*. Tubingen, 1512.

A major representative of Renaissance Platonism and a leading spirit of the Florentine Academy, Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) was one of the wonders of the Humanist movement. His literary and philosophical accomplishments in just a few years of life are extraordinary, although much remains fragmentary and incomplete. This text consists of a religious poem by Pico (the large type) with extensive commentary interspersed by Jacob Spiegel.

14. Bembo, Pietro. *Della historia vinitiana*. Venice, 1552.

The decisive period in the development of Italian literary prose was the sixteenth century. During this period a common literary language emerged for all of Italy, to which the Humanists made major contributions. Their concern with proper modes of rhetoric and grammar applied as much to the vernacular as to Classical languages. The first authoritative representative, if not the actual initiator, of the movement to establish Tuscan as the common language for prose and

poetry was Pietro Bembo.

15. *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*. Florence, 1552.

This group of excerpts from the writings of leading Italian Humanists, such as Bembo, Navegero, and Castiglione indicates as a publishing venture the popular interest in the work of the Humanists. The small, portable format of the text as well as the graceful and legible type reflect the heightened sophistication of book production during the second half of the sixteenth century.

CASE 4: THE CLASSICAL INHERITANCE

The Humanist educational program called for close attention to a well defined cycle of subjects known as the *studia humanitatis*. This program included grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy, all of which were based on the reading of Greek and Latin authors. Italian Renaissance appreciation of Greek and Roman antiquity encompassed more than literature, however. Painting, architecture, science, and even costume based on the ancients were much in vogue.

16. Lascaris, Constantino. *Grammatica*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1512.

A comprehensive compilation of the Greek and Hebrew languages explained in Latin, this work is another illustration of the great influence of the Classics during the Italian Renaissance. The Greek and Latin texts were printed separately so that they could be bound either following each other or with the Greek and Latin on opposite pages as in this copy.

17. Vitruvius Pollio. *I dieci libri dell'architettura*. Venice, 1584.

The fundamental guide of Renaissance architects, Vitruvius's ten books rely upon the monuments of Classical antiquity to explicate basic architectural principles. Whether for the design of a temple, theater, aqueduct, or columned structure, Vitruvius utilized ancient models to illustrate the proper modes of construction.

18. Apianus, Peter. *Cosmographia*. Antwerp, 1539.

A comprehensive interpretation of geography and astronomy, this text by Peter Apianus reflects the heavy influence of the ancient geographer Ptolemy. In fact, in the introduction Apianus exalts the mathematical concepts and geographic advances of Ptolemy without constraint.

19. Vecellio, Cesare. *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*. Venice, 1598.

This text, which includes no less than 508 illustrations, reveals the enormous influence of Classical antiquity on costume. Vecellio devotes more than half of his book to the study of ancient costume then goes on to complete his story by elucidating the continued influence of antiquity upon fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century costume.

CASES 5 & 6: THE ROLE OF ALDUS MANUTIUS

The Italian Renaissance printer Aldus Manutius and the firm that he founded, the Aldine Press, made available in print for the first time numerous standard editions of Greek and Latin writings. Without a doubt, Aldus's Classical publications were fundamental to the development of the humanities in the West. Although the Humanist movement was well underway by the time Aldus began his publishing activities in 1494, little had been accomplished to join the new printing technology to the vigor of Humanism. Aldus's affinity for the Classics was profound. He was a Humanist himself who had received a scholar's education in Classical languages, including study for two years with one of the most brilliant Humanists, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Thus, Aldus was in a position to contribute to the unification of publishing endeavors with the Humanist movement.

Yet, it was not in his role as a printer that Aldus achieved greatness but rather as an imaginative and innovative publisher. Most notable was his dedication to the publication of ancient Greek texts and the high standards of quality he insisted on within his printing establishment. Aldus was also the first publisher to popularize large editions of "serious

literature" in a convenient small format, thus placing such literature within the reach of a new generation of readers throughout Europe. The pocket-size edition was a major departure from the stately folios in which such writings had usually been published previously.

Aldus is distinguished, too, as an innovator in the development of typographical designs. His type faces—Greek, Roman, and italic—broke new ground and dominated European printing for two hundred years. The italic type achieved such popularity that it was soon imitated despite the exclusive rights to its use Aldus had obtained from the Venetian Senate and from the Pope. By 1570, italic print had become the fashionable vernacular type for Italian and French books.

Lastly, Aldus was the first to introduce a book that was both reasonably priced and well constructed. Before his time, there had been a great amount of deluxe printing for the wealthy and even more of the cheap variety. Aldus was interested in producing fine texts of the great masterpieces of literature, clearly printed on quality paper, at a price that poor scholars could afford. The following books have been selected to show the important role of Aldus Manutius in both the development of printing techniques and the propagation of the Classical revival.

CASE 5

20. Aristotle. *Opera omnia*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1495.

The first of a five volume set of the complete works of Aristotle, this first edition is one of the most significant Aldines in The John Carter Brown Library collection. Notwithstanding the incomplete state of knowledge concerning Greek literature and Greek typography at the time this book was published, this work is outstanding for both its accuracy and its beauty. Note the scrupulously detailed notes and diagrams in the margins. Aldus commissioned Francesco Griffo to design and cut this Greek type. Although his type was so elaborate it was difficult to use, its design remained the standard for Greek typography for hundreds of years.

21. Oppianus. *De piscibus libri V. De venatione III. De piscibus Laurentio Lippio interprete libri V.* Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1517.

An early Aldine in good condition, this first edition typifies the fine craftsmanship of Aldus's printing company. The text is printed in the Greek type that Aldus introduced. Best known for his didactic poems in Greek hexameter, Oppian flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (emperor A.D. 161-180). Centuries after Oppian's death many a Renaissance scholar looked to his poems as exemplary models by which to learn meter.

22. Contareno, Gasparo. *De magistratibus & republica Venetorum.* Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1589.

An exaltation of the glories of the Venetian Republic, this late Aldine exemplifies the Roman type created by Aldus Manutius in the fifteenth century. Roman type, as opposed to italic, is modeled on the lettering of ancient Roman inscriptions in stone. In addition, the quality of the decoration within the text makes this volume of particular importance since very few books published by the Aldine Press were enhanced with ornamental designs.

23. Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Officiorum Lib. III ...* Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1519.

24. Medici, Lorenzo de'. *Poesie volgari.* Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1554.

These two texts exhibit the italic type designed by Aldus during his early years. The italic style originated with cursive handwriting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it was this type that became popular with both Italian and French printers in subsequent years. When Aldus developed italic for printing, he was continuing the tradition of the scribes in the years preceding him.

25. Suetonius Tranquillus, C. *XII Caesares ...* Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1516.

This edition, a series of excerpts from the works of ancient Roman historians, represents

Aldus's devotion to ancient literature. Of particular importance in this volume is the work of Suetonius, the great biographer of *The Twelve Caesars* (from Julius down to Domitian). Suetonius was widely read among Renaissance scholars who wished to increase their knowledge of Roman rulers and Roman law.

26. Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *Tragoediae*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1517.

Seneca (4 B.C.-65 A.D.), an eminent Latin writer known for his essays, letters, poetry, and particularly for his drama of which this volume is a collection.

27. Castiglione, Baldassarre. *Il libro del cortegiano*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1533.

This second edition, more correct than the first published by the Aldine Press, is an example of publication of famous vernacular texts by the firm. Indeed, it was not only the literature of Classical antiquity that intrigued Aldus and his colleagues but also the work of contemporary authors who themselves had been influenced by the Classics. Castiglione's *Courtier* is one of the most influential books of the Renaissance establishing the style of gentlemanly and courtly behavior everywhere in Europe for generations.

28. Machiavelli, Niccolo. *Libro dell'arte della guerra*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1546.

Another distinguished example of the interest taken by the Aldine Press in contemporary vernacular literature. The Classical influence is particularly evident in Machiavelli's *Art of War*, which is based in part on his studies of Roman military strategies. This text is a good example of the use of Aldus's original italic type.

29. Bolzianus, Urbanus. *Institutiones graecae gramatices*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1497.

Dedicated to Aldus's teacher, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, this text was one of the first printed works in which the grammatical precepts of the Greek language were presented in Latin. The combined use of both the Roman and Greek alphabets raised technical problems for

typesetters that the Aldine Press faced and overcame. The actual design and cutting of these typefaces was the work of Aldus's talented colleague Francesco Griffo.

30. Manutius, Aldus Pius. *Institutionum Grammaticarum libri quatuor*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1514.

This work, like the one just preceding, dates back in the first edition to the earliest stage of Aldus's career as a printer and scholar when he was himself a teacher of the Classical languages. Aldus's *Institutiones Grammaticae* was first issued in 1495. The present edition includes not only Greek and Roman type but also Hebrew.

31. Ovidius Naso, Publius. *Works*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1533.

32. Juvenalis, Decimus Junius. *Iuvenalis. Persius. [Satyrae]* Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1535.

33. Sophocles. *Tragaediae [sic] septem cum commentariis*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502.

34. Riccius, Bartholomaeus. *De imitatione libri tres ad Alfonso Atestium principem ...* Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1545.

35. Ovidius Naso, Publius. *Quae hoc volumine continentur annotationes in omnia Ovidii opera*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1516.

Bound in either contemporary calf or vellum, these five Aldines are all examples of the convenient octavo format that Aldus introduced for secular literature. The delicate and intricate tooling of some of these bindings are indicative of the reverence accorded printed books by their owners.

36. Livius, Titus. *Historiarum ... libri qui extant XXXV*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1592.

This Aldine from late in the century is of particular importance because it contains a sales price list for over seventy Aldine editions published in the sixteenth century. Such a list is one of

the few morsels of evidence present-day scholars have concerning the cost of Aldines during the Renaissance period.

CASE 7: THE DISSEMINATION OF ITALIAN RENAISSANCE LITERATURE
AND THE EXPANSION OF THE PRINTING INDUSTRY IN EUROPE

With the proliferation of printing establishments in the sixteenth century and a vast increase in the number of books produced, the Humanist movement of the Italian Renaissance spread throughout the Western world. Numerous editions of Classical and contemporary Italian texts were reprinted in different countries and in different languages. In addition to the output in prominent sixteenth-century printing centers, such as Augsburg and Antwerp, many texts were published in smaller urban centers like Genoa and Lucca.

37. Vespucci, Amerigo. *Mundus novus*. Augsburg, 1504.

This edition of the Vespucci letter was printed in Augsburg in 1504. At that time, Augsburg was the major commercial city on the German side of the Alps on the trade route through the Brenner Pass from Venice. Venetian goods had been carried in barrels by mule packs across that route for centuries before printing was introduced. When Venice grew to become the leading center of printing in Europe in the 1470s, barrels filled with sheets of book pages were added to the loads headed north. This Vespucci, printed by Johann Otmar in Augsburg, is a reprint of an earlier Venetian edition.

38. Guicciardini, Lodovico. *Descrittione di tutti Paesi Bassi*. Antwerp, 1567.

Dedicated to King Philip II, this first edition is one of the most important illustrated sources for information about the cultural, artistic, and commercial life of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. The maps and plates in the volume were colored by a contemporary hand. The work in general is a good example of the intricate and refined craftsmanship of Northern printers in the period.

39. Giustiniani, Agostino. *Castigatissimi annali con la loro copiosa tavola della eccelsa & illustrissima Republi di Genoa*. Genoa, 1538.

Giustiniano's history of Genoa was appropriately printed in that city. Genoa's printing industry was insignificant compared to that of Venice, Florence, or Rome, yet, by the 1530s many cities had set up at least one printing press.

40. Interiano, Paolo. *Ristretto delle historie genovesi*. Lucca, 1551.

Nestled in the heart of Tuscany, the small urban center of Lucca managed as a democracy during the Renaissance period. Although constantly in the throes of power struggles with neighboring cities such as Florence, Pisa, Parma, or Genoa, Lucca remained an entity unto itself. The printing press arrived in Lucca in the late fifteenth century, but printing never became a major industry. That good work was done, however, is evidenced by this text of Paolo Interiano's.

CASE 8 ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

The absence of effective copyright laws and the inherent difficulty of detecting counterfeit books and tracing them to a source allowed for a great deal of illegal reprinting of books. All of the books presented in this case are pirated or plagiarized editions of original Aldines. Two Parisian booksellers of the sixteenth century, Bernardus Turrisanus and Robertus Coulombel, were well aware of the popularity of the Aldine imprint. In an attempt to sell more books, they simply attached their names to the Aldine Press imprint to give the impression of some sort of association with the firm. The scheme was apparently quite successful in playing upon a non-existent association.

41. Muret, Marc Antoine. *Ad Leonardum Mocenicum, patricium venetum, orationum Ciceronis in Catilina explicatio*. Parisiis: Apud Robertum Coulombel, in Aldina Bibliotheca, 1580.

42. Tacitus, Publius Corneilius. *C. Cornelii Taciti equitis Romani ab excessu Divi Augusti Annalium libri quatuor priores, et in hos observationes Caroli Pascali Cuneatis*. Parisiis: Apud

Robertum Colombellum, in Aldina Bibliotheca, 1581.

43. Muret, Marc Antoine. *I. C. ac civis romani epistolae*. Parisiis: Apud Robertum Coulombel, in Aldina Bibliotheca, 1580.

44. Manutius, Paulus. *Antiquitatum romanarum Pauli Manutii liber de legibus*. Parisiis: Apud Bernardum Turrisanum, in Aldina Bibliotheca, 1557.

WORKS OF ART

The widespread impact and influence of the Classics during the Renaissance period is also evident in the arts. Models from Classical antiquity profoundly affected architecture, sculpture, painting, and drawing.

Sculpture

The *Head of the Pseudo-Seneca type* and the *Torso of Dionysius*, both dating from the second century B.C., are examples of ancient sculpture. The *Episcopal Portrait* by Danese Cattaneo from the 1550s would seem to indicate that the study of the detailed and accurate physiognomies of ancient models was a part of Cattaneo's curriculum.

1. *Head of Pseudo-Seneca Type*. 2nd century B.C.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

2. *Torso of Dionysius*. 2nd century B.C.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

3. Cattaneo, Danese. *Episcopal Portrait*. ca. 1550s.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

Prints

Prints helped to disseminate the Classical style throughout Europe.

1. Dente, Marco. *Fighters*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

2. Raimondi, Marcantonio. *Two Women with signs of the Zodiac*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

3. Raimondi, Marcantonio. *The Plague at Phrygia*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

4. Raimondi, Marcantonio. *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

5. Raimondi, Marcantonio. *Chasse aux lions*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

6. Raimondi, Marcantonio. *Paul Preaching in Athens*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

7. After Rosso Fiorentino. *Ceres*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

8. Bandinelli, Baccio. *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

9. After Parmagianino. *The Tiburtine Sibyl Showing the Virgin and Child to Augustus*.

Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

10. Morghen, R. *Benvenuto Cellini*.

Courtesy of the Art Department of Brown University,

11. Mantegna, A. *Bacchanal*.

Courtesy of the Art Department of Brown University.

12. Durer, Albrecht. *Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam*.

Erasmus was the most noted scholar in Europe of his day. He spent eight months at the Aldine Press supervising the publication of *Adagia*. Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

13. Durer, Albrecht. *Nemesis*.

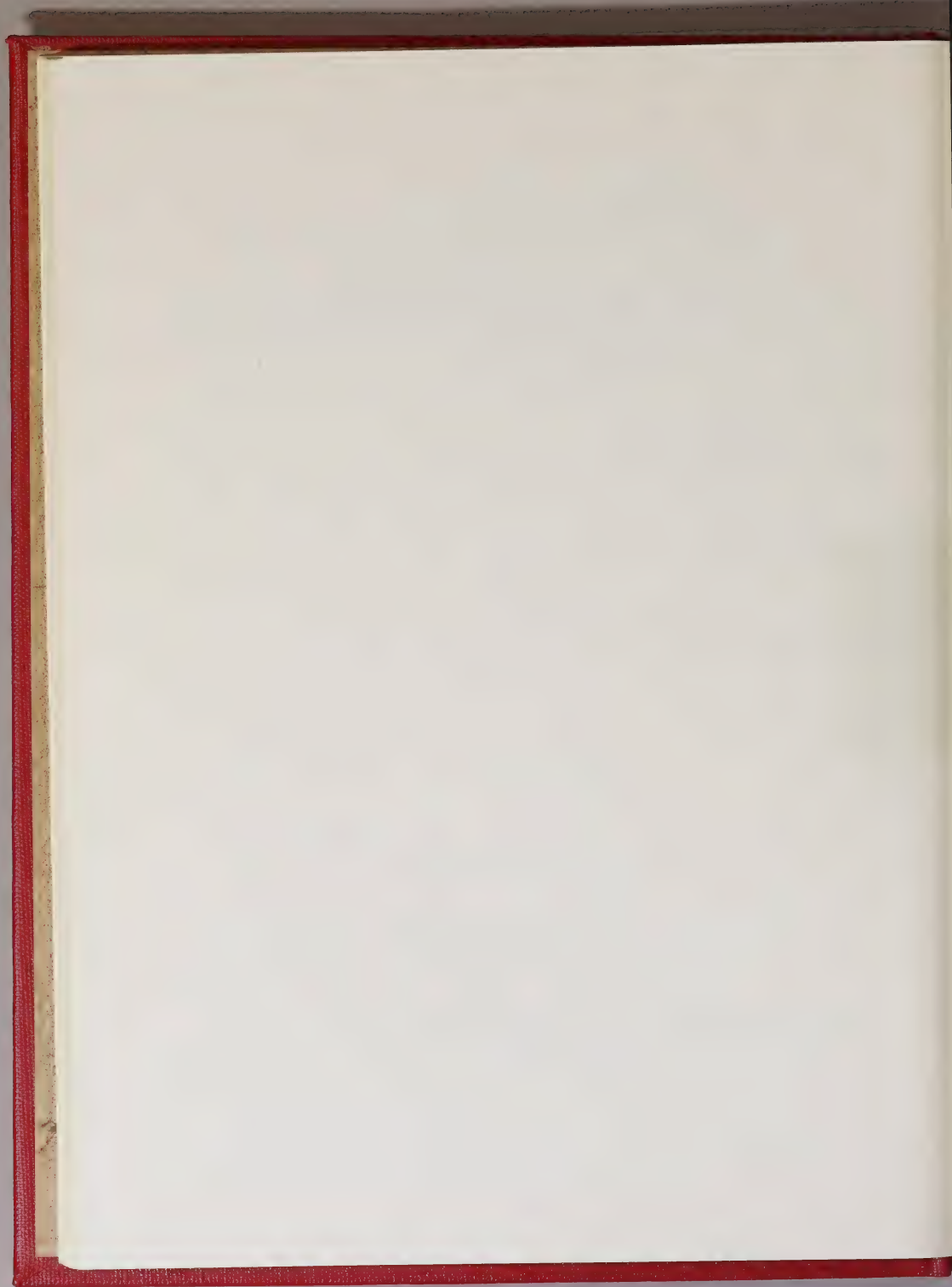
Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

14. Durer, Albrecht. *The Great Horse*.

Courtesy of the Art Department of Brown University.

15. Durer, Albrecht. *Christ Nailed to the Cross*.

Courtesy of the Art Department of Brown University.





THE SPANISH CHURCH AND THE NEW WORLD IN THE GOLDEN AGE



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IN THE GOLDEN AGE

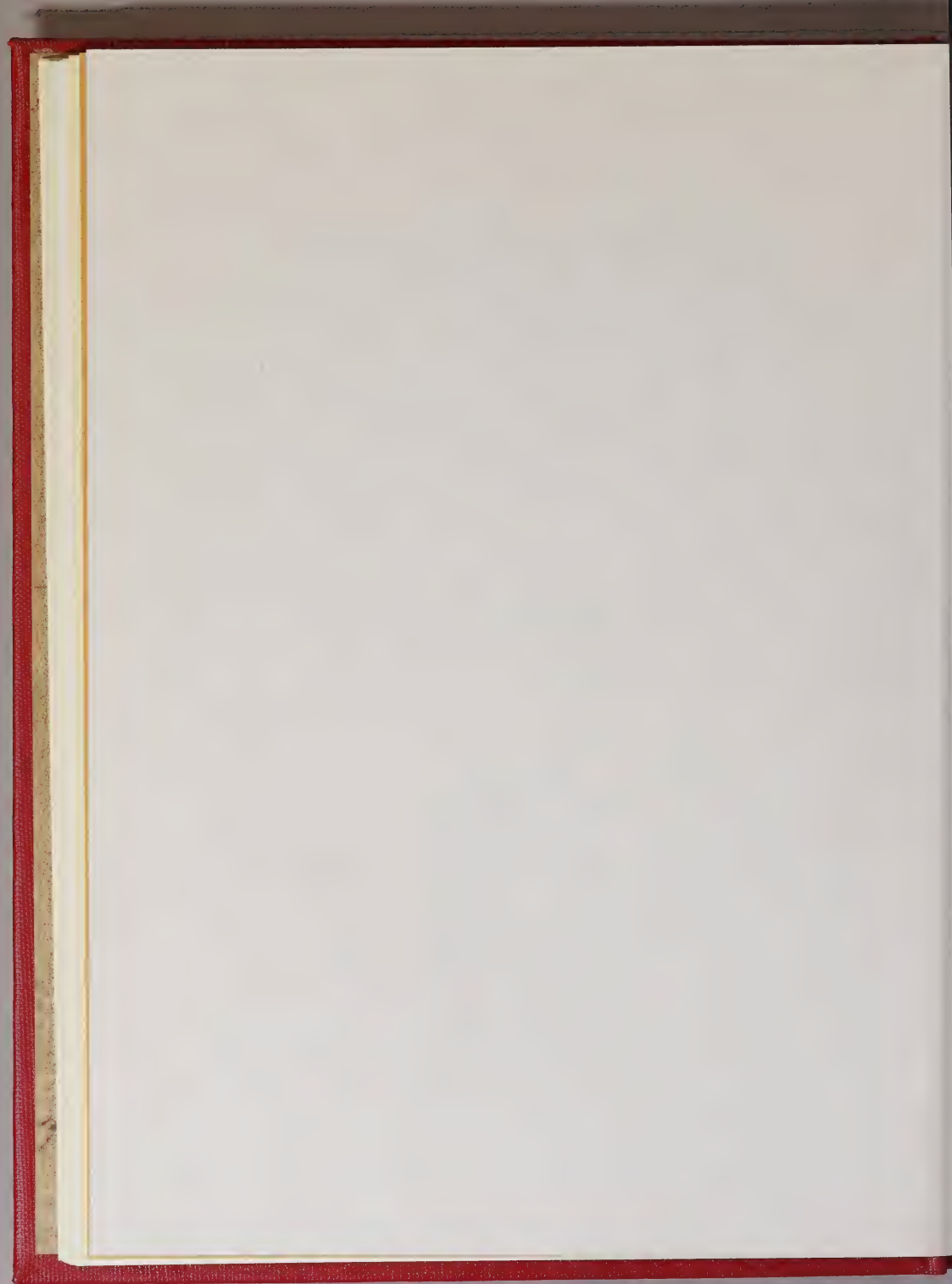
An Exhibition Mounted in Honor of the
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Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas

The John Carter Brown Library
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August 22, 1983



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THE SPANISH CHURCH AND THE NEW WORLD

INTRODUCTION

"Except for the creation of the world, and the life and death of Him who created it, no event is more important than the discovery of the Indies." With those words, López de Gómara summarized the Spanish priest's view of the monumental challenges and opportunities that lay ahead for the Catholic Church in the newly discovered regions of the Americas. With these strokes of his pen, he dismissed as secondary other dramatic and sometimes cataclysmic events--the Albigensian heresy, Copernicus's theories, the Moslem invasion of Europe, the conquest and reconquest of Spain, the births of Augustine and Jerome.

Amidst the flowering of Spanish culture commonly referred to as the "Golden Age" (1514-1659), the Church itself flowered with an extension of its opportunities, powers, and responsibilities into a realm that was more vast than that of any temporal power. Spain itself during that period was hardly the Spain we know today as a national entity but was rather divided among several powerful constituencies. The Catholic Church in Spain, however, suffered no such divisions and was able for the most part to present a united front to the opportunities present in the New World. Despite squabbling and doctrinal fights among orders, the Catholic Church remained generally powerful and its doctrine generally uniform. Peter still held the keys to heaven and hell even if the king of Spain did not necessarily hold the keys to Catalonia, Sicily, Italy, and Flanders.

In conquering Central and South America, Spanish conquistadors overwhelmed the only civilizations in America worthy of the name. The priests that accompanied and followed the conquistadors faced problems more difficult than those which might be solved by military force. Although every Indian understood the power of the sword and harquebus, he did not understand the Bible, the Mass, or Latin. And although every Catholic priest understood the sword, the Bible, and Latin, he in turn did not understand the Temple of the Moon, the Aztec wheel calendar, the tomato, chinchona bark, or the fact that gold was basically worthless--much less, more esoteric problems such as Quichua, Guarani, or other Indian languages that might have made all those other mysteries clearer if he could only communicate with those who could explain such things. So began several centuries of groping about on several planes as the Catholic Church came to terms with lands and peoples of which it was unaware and for which it was unprepared in 1492.

The Church's response to these challenges was vigorous on nearly every front. The basic problem was, of course, communication with the natives, whose souls the Church was

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determined to save from perdition and whose bodies they often tried to save from slavery. One priest complained in a letter to a friend that although he now knew the language of the Indians living in his environs, those on the next mountain spoke another language entirely which he did not yet know. In response to this challenge, the priests of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries produced what are now some of the linguistic treasures of twentieth-century civilization, for they are often the unique records of Indian languages long since forgotten or obliterated. Starting on the comparatively minor scale of vocabularios and artes, which were basically dictionaries and grammars, the priests rapidly built upward to catechisms, church services and doctrinal works written in the indigenous languages of Central and South America. Fortunately, printing presses were introduced early into Spanish New-World colonies, and these books were easily multiplied in a form more permanent than their manuscripts, thereby preserving a rich linguistic heritage.

The writing of secular history flourished, as well. No longer faced with rewriting the histories of Rome, Greece, or Europe, priests could now turn their energies to a new history in the making. The first written history of events in the New World was, after all, written by Columbus himself in his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella's treasurer. As was customary for the fifteenth century, it was sent to Rome, translated into Latin, printed, and thence spread all over Europe, thereby providing each country with its initial encounter with the New World. Building on Columbus's foundation, Spanish historians rapidly built up an enviable edifice that was to maintain its preeminence for over a century, given the paucity of materials with which English, French, and Dutch rivals had to work. Despite the fact that these historians belonged to one faith, their views and interpretations were not always uniform, and sometimes bitter disputes broke out, especially over the treatment afforded the conquered natives. In the realm of secular history, there was often little agreement over events themselves, much less their interpretation.

The writing of religious histories rivaled that of secular ones. The conversion of the Indians and the establishment of churches soon created a story of their own which, though initially a part of the conquest, grew into their own separate branch. Priests were in a unique position to capitalize on this history, and presses were soon turning out general histories of the religious conquest, histories of various orders in the New World, and biographies of individual priests. This last category rapidly proliferated as more and more priests suffered martyrdom at the hands of those they sought to convert, thereby reviving a sub-genre that had grown moribund since Christendom set out to conquer the Eastern and Western worlds in an earlier time.

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Although one tends to think of the linguistic works and the histories as the benchmarks of New World literature written by the clergy, a whole body of scientific writing also grew up alongside it. Often ignored or passed over, these scientific works are valuable repositories of landscapes that have changed forever. The contributions of Spanish priests to New World science were immense, however, and again vastly overshadowed before 1659 any rivals in Europe, who were often reduced to translating Spanish originals. Ironically, these writings were the ones that opened Europe's eyes to the vast treasures of the New World and excited competition with Spain for possessions and colonies there. Despite official policy that became ever more restrictive and secretive, scientific works by Spanish priests found their way into print and eventually found avid readers in all parts of Europe.

During the early heyday of linguistics, history, and science, literature or belles lettres by clergymen were not nearly so prominent as their more celebrated cousins. For the major part of the Golden Age, literature was written by continental Spaniards who were not regular clergy. The New World exerted its influence even there, however. Don Quixote continually promises Sancho Panza the reward of an "insula" over which he may rule, for example. On the whole, and with few exceptions, the religious figures of the Golden Age did not produce any great body of imaginative literature, especially in comparison with what was going on around them in Spain and other countries. Some literature did flourish, nevertheless. The conquest itself provided certain inspirations and the impulse to write literature either about the New World or in the New World continued as a grace note during the whole of the Golden Age.

The contributions of Spanish clergy were diverse in other areas, such as economics, civil and ecclesiastic administration, theology, and law. Our purpose here is to document the contributions of the regular clergy during the Golden Age only in the areas of secular history, religious history, science, linguistics, and literature. The common thread that will run through all the items in the exhibition is that they either discuss the New World or were written there. Only those works by regular, practicing clergy published during the Golden Age have been included.

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I

Secular Histories

Included in this section of the exhibition are histories (other than church or religious histories) written by Spanish religious figures in the Golden Age.

1

Francisco López de Gómara (1510-1560). Historia de las Indias. Zaragoza: 1552.

López de Gómara, in his position as a chaplain of Hernán Cortes's family, had access to a great deal of material about his subject, and it has been conjectured that Cortés himself assisted Gómara with this work. One may perhaps see a bit of flattery for his patron in his opening sentence: "Except for the creation of the world, and the life and death of Him who created it, no event is more important than the discovery of the Indies."

This widely admired history was followed the same year by a second part entitled Crónica de la conquista de Nueva España, dedicated to Martín Cortés, the conquistador's son. Despite the book's immense popularity, as reflected by its rapid translation into French and Italian, the government was not happy with the work and in 1553 ordered it suppressed, called in the copies already in print, and threatened fines against anyone who further printed or distributed the work. This prohibition was not lifted until 1727.

Open to the quotation mentioned above.

2

Juan de Mariana (1536-1623). Historiae de rebus Hispaniae Libri XX. Toledo: Petri Roderi, 1592.

Mariana was one of the more celebrated Jesuit scholars of the sixteenth century. A man of ready intelligence and wide learning, it was said of him that he was as fluent in Latin as he was in Spanish.

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Mariana wrote the Historiae de rebus Hispaniae, here shown in its first edition, because he felt that Europe as a whole was ignorant of Spanish history. This is the first Spanish history directed specifically at a larger audience outside Spain and is therefore written in Latin, then the universal language of learning and scholarship.

The history proved to be quite popular, and a second edition with 25 chapters was published the same year. Although the history comes down only to 1492, it does contain scattered references to the Spanish New World.

Open to the title page.

3

Juan de Torquemada. Ia [-IIa] parte de los veynte y un libros rituales y monarchia yndiana. Seville: Clavijo, 1615.

Although born in Spain, Torquemada spent most of his adult life in Mexico as a Franciscan, where he was elected provincial of his order in 1614.

This history, which preserves some of the accounts of the conquest of Mexico, is basically a history of Indian rites, customs, and beliefs. Torquemada required 20 years to complete it, and his lists of "Works Consulted" reveal him to be well-read in previous histories and in theology. Printed only in this edition, the history proved to be so popular that it rapidly became a rare book in its own time. Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra complained that he could not get a copy for use while he was writing his own history of Mexico which appeared in 1684.

Open to the title page.

4

Pedro de Simón (b. 1565). Primera parte de las noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme, en las Indias Occidentales. Cuenca: Domingo de la Iglesia, 1627.

Simón, a Franciscan, came to the New World in 1604 after completing his humanities studies at San Diego de Cartagena, Spain. He became provincial in 1623, the same year he began to write this history, for which he drew upon his own varied experiences in the New World and the wealth of archival

5

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materials to which he had access.

The first two volumes were finished in about a year and a half, despite the author's painful attacks of gout. Unfortunately, only this first volume, concerning Venezuela, was published at the time. It was not until 1892 that all four parts were printed.

Open to the title page.

5

Juan Díaz. Provinciae sive regiones in India Occidentali noviter repertae in vltima navigatione. [Rome? 1620?]

Díaz was the chaplain of Juan de Grijalvas's expedition which discovered New Spain in 1518 and led to the eventual conquest of Mexico. It is uncertain when this account was actually written, but it is clear that it was composed either during the expedition or very shortly thereafter. The original, which apparently was in Spanish, is unknown; this Latin edition is an abridgement of it, as comparison with an Italian version reveals.

Díaz's account did much to excite Spanish imaginations. He describes numerous encounters with the Indians during which they repeatedly brought gold in exchange for goods or as outright gifts. On one occasion, an Indian chief exchanged with Grijalva a suit of armor made of gold for a suit of Spanish clothes. Díaz also describes cannibalism, human sacrifices, and idolatry among the Indians.

Open to the title page.

6

Bernardino de Cárdenas (d. 1668). Memorial, y relación verdadera para el rei N.S. y su Consejo de las Indias, de cosas del reino del Perú. Madrid: Martínez, 1634.

Cárdenas, a Franciscan eventually elevated to a bishopric in Paraguay, is best remembered as an active participant in a bitter dispute with the Jesuits, whom he detested. Even in 1756, the Jesuit Charlevoix was still writing about this dispute in his Histoire du Paraguay.

This Memorial is something of a history of his own time, in

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which he points out to the king and the council that failures of political policy have resulted in tremendous difficulties with the Indians, who fail to respond to the Church because they have been so rapaciously mistreated. He pleads for political and religious reforms before the Indians reach such a calloused mental and spiritual state that they will be beyond conversion.

Open to the title page.

7

Cristóbal de Acuña (b. 1597). Nuevo descubrimiento del gran río de las Amazonas. Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1641.

Acuña, a Jesuit, accompanied the Portuguese explorer Pedro Teixeira on his voyage down the Amazon river in 1639, whence he returned directly to Spain. He eventually came back to the New World and was known to be living in Lima in 1675.

The Nuevo descubrimiento proved to be as horrifying as it was fascinating. The purpose of Acuña's voyage was to determine if shipping could go up and down the Amazon, thereby supplying Peru by that route rather than by the more dangerous sea route through the Strait of Magellan. Acuña's observations were so precise, however, that the king ordered the book suppressed and attempted to collect all the printed copies in a vain effort to prevent the information from being of use to the Portuguese themselves.

Open to the title page.

8

Francisco Ponce de León. Descripción del reyno de Chile. Madrid: 1644.

All that is known about the author is what he relates of his life in this book. A member of the order of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, he arrived in Peru in 1618, participated in a military expedition in 1619 that resulted in the capture of 4,000 natives, and in 1625 he transferred to Chile.

The major interest of Ponce de León's Descripción is his argument that the only way to deal with the Araucans is by force. He begrudgingly admired their tenacity, their patriotism, and the amount of damage they managed to inflict with their relatively crude weapons. He nevertheless warns

7

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the king that until this tribe is subdued, Chile will not be a secure colony.

This book is one of the rarer volumes about Spanish America; it is known to exist in only a few copies.

Open to the title page.

9

Alonso de Ovalle (1601-1651). Histórica relación del reyno de Chile. Rome: Cavallo, 1646.

Ovalle, a Jesuit, was a native American born in Santiago to a family originally from Spain. He spent his entire life in South America, leaving only once to attend his order's general congregation in 1640.

The Histórica relación is the first general history of Chile, but it is not known for certain if this Spanish edition or an Italian edition of the same year by the same publisher came first. The book also qualifies as one of the more handsome Spanish histories up to its time; it includes 18 woodcuts, 14 engraved plates, 21 engraved portraits, and a folded map of Chile.

Open to the plate showing and text describing a Chilean tree which has grown into a living crucifix.

10

Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566). Historia de las Indias. Manuscript on paper.

Las Casas was one of the giant figures of the Spanish Golden Age. He came to the New World in 1502 after graduating from the University of Salamanca. Until 1514, he treated the Indians with the usual indifference afforded them by the Spanish but in that year had a profound change of heart and worked the rest of his life to ameliorate the miserable conditions in which native Americans lived.

The Historia, begun in 1527 in Cuba, was not published until 1875-76. Las Casas left instructions that it not be published until 40 years after his death but did not elaborate on the reasons behind the request. Las Casas's earlier publication, the Brevísima relación of 1552, had stirred considerable controversy because of its vivid

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descriptions of the cruelties visited upon the Indians by the Spaniards and practically created the unsavory reputation that Spaniards enjoyed as cruel, barbaric conquerors. Perhaps Las Casas thought it better to allow the controversy to abate before the Historia was published, because this work goes on at even greater length in much the same vein as the Brevísima relación.

This manuscript seems to have been copied at various times, although it is one of the major manuscript copies of the Historia. The earliest parts of it seem to date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

Open to the first page of Part I, which is one of the earlier parts of the manuscript.

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II

Linguistics and Conversion of the Indians

The contributions of the Spanish clergy to the study of Indian linguistics can hardly be separated from their efforts to convert them; hence, the majority of such works are religious in nature. Shown in this section are several works, printed and manuscript, written by Spanish priests in their efforts to understand the native languages and to convert the Indians.

11

Antonio de Ciudad Real (1551-1617). [Maya/Spanish-Spanish/Maya Dictionary] Motul, Yucatán, ca. 1600. Manuscript on paper.

Ciudad Real was the foremost early linguist of Mayan, the language spoken by one of the more important Mexican tribes conquered by the Spaniards. He arrived in Yucatán in 1573, after entering the Franciscan order at Toledo. In his various capacities, he traveled extensively through Mexico, Guatemala, and Nicaragua before returning to Spain.

This work, known as the "Motul Dictionary," is the best-known Mayan/Spanish dictionary and preserves many words and definitions not to be found elsewhere. Because of the different hands found in it, it probably is not the original but rather a copy of it. The whereabouts of the original are unknown.

One volume shows the Mayan/Spanish dictionary; the other the Spanish/Mayan, which is considerably shorter.

12

Bernadino de Sahagún (d. 1590). [Dogmas of the Church, and the Gospels and Epistles]. Mexico, second half of the sixteenth century. Manuscript on paper.

Born in Spain, Sahagún came to Mexico in 1529 and remained there the rest of his life. By the time of his death, sometime in his 90's, he was without rival as the great Aztec linguist and enjoyed considerable fame as a historian, although his Historia de las cosas de Nueva España was not published until 1829.

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This small manuscript is one of Sahagún's efforts to make the liturgy and teachings of the Church available in the native language of the Aztecs. It contains various sections, including catechisms, teachings on the sacraments, and expositions of feast days.

Open to the first page of the text for offices of the Church. (The small, crude drawing of the Resurrection is a later addition.)

13

Province of Lima. Concilio Provincial (1583). Doctrina christiana, y catecismo para instrucción de los Indios.
Lima: Ricardo, 1584.

Missionaries to the Indians in Peru soon felt the need to reduce basic Church teachings and services to the languages of the natives. This Doctrina, apparently assembled chiefly by the Jesuit José de Acosta, was ordered printed by the Provincial Concilio of 1583.

This is the first book printed in Lima. It has a Spanish text, followed by the equivalent in Quichua and Aymara. All copies were required to be approved personally by the censor; this copy has that approbation in manuscript on its title page.

Open to a page in the catechism.

14

Diego Basalenque (1577-1651).

a) Arte de la lengua Matlaltzinga mui copioso y assí mismo una suma y arte abreviado. Michoacán? 1640. Manuscript on paper.

b) Vocabulario de la lengua Castellana buelto en la Matlaltzinga. Michoacán? 1642. Manuscript on paper.

Basalenque came at age 9 to the New World, where he entered the Augustinian order at age 15. His remarkable career, which saw the establishment of nine new churches and the broadening of curricula at the order's schools while he was provincial, continued even after his death. His body was reported to be in a perfect state of preservation as late as 1714. Basalenque was an expert linguist, knowing Latin,

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Greek, Hebrew, and several native American tongues.

Shown here are two of his major works in the field of Matlatzinca linguistics, illustrating the two components necessary to form a complete system for learning any Indian language. The Vocabulario is a dictionary in two parts--Matlatzinca/Spanish and Spanish/Matlatzinca. The Arte is a grammar and commentary on the actual use of the language, such as the verb conjugations shown here.

15

Alonso de Molina (d. 1585). Aquí comienza un vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana. Mexico: Ocharte, 1555.

Molina, although born in Spain, was brought at a young age by his mother to the New World in 1523. He learned Nahuatl as a child and served as interpreter to the first Franciscans in Mexico.

Molina wrote several works on the Nahuatl language, including two Vocabularios and teaching manuals. He also translated the gospels into Nahuatl, but their publication was forbidden because of a law banning vernacular versions of the Bible. His contemporaries report that his usual practice was to minister to the Indians during the day and to compose his books at night.

This is the first printed vocabulary of Nahuatl.

Open to the title page.

16

Domingo de Santo Tomás (1499-1570). Gramática, o Arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los reynos del Perú. Valladolid: Córdova, 1560.

Although made a professor in Spain at the Colegio de Santo Tomás, this Dominican friar resigned his chair to preach in the New World, where he arrived in 1530 in the same ship as Francisco Pizarro. Ever active in the temporal and spiritual affairs of the New World, he was often honored by his order and the king.

This Gramática is the first printed grammar of Quechua, one of the major Indian languages of Peru. For centuries it remained the essential grammar for the language and was used

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by scores of missionaries. Also issued with it was a Spanish/Quichua dictionary, which is bound up second in this volume.

Open to sections on conjunctions and relative pronouns.

17

Alonso de Molina (d. 1585). Confessionario breve, en lengua Mexicana y Castellana. Mexico City: Ocharte, 1565.

Molina published both a "confessionario breve" and a "confessionario mayor" in 1565. Both were intended to assist in the conversion of the Indians.

Open to the title page.

18

Pedro de Feria (1524-1588). Doctrina Christiana en lengua Castellana y zapoteca. Mexico City: Ocharte, 1567.

Feria, a Dominican, took his vows in Spain in 1545 and six months later was sent to Oaxaca, Mexico. He held various important positions in the New World and was sent on various missions back to Spain and to Rome. He died in Mexico, after having returned there in 1575.

This volume is of interest not only because it is one of the early printed theological works in Zapoteca, the language used by the Indians of Oaxaca, but also because of the dozens of woodcuts which illustrate it.

Open to one of the larger woodcuts.

19

Juan de la Cruz (d. 1572). Doctrina Christiana en la lengua Guasteca con la lengua Castellana. Mexico City: Ocharte, 1571.

Juan de la Cruz, an Augustinian, came to Mexico with the first missionaries in 1533. He was prior of the monastery at Huexutla. He undertook this doctrina to replace an earlier

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one of 1548 by Juan de Guevara which had proven inadequate. (No copy of Guevara's doctrina is known.)

This is the first adequate doctrina in Huasteca, the language of an isolated Mayan tribe of Vera Cruz. The volume was apparently the last to come from Ocharte's press before the Inquisition imprisoned him on charges of Lutheranism. The book is heavily illustrated with 140 woodcut illustrations that were done specifically for this work.

Open to the woodcuts illustrating the use of the fingers as memory aids.

20

Alonso de Molina (d. 1585). Arte de la lengua Mexicana y Castellana. Mexico City: Ocharte, 1571.

This Arte is the first printed grammar of Nahuatl.

Open to the title page.

21

Juan de Medina Plaza. Doctrinalis fidei in Michuacanesium Indiorum linguam [vol. II]. Mexico City: Espinosa, 1575.

Medina, an Augustinian, was a native of Segovia. Outside of these facts, almost nothing is known of his life.

This doctrina is comprised of Catholic teachings on various doctrines, such as the seven mortal sins, transcribed into the pronunciation of the Indians in Michoacan province. For a reason that has never been satisfactorily explained, volume I was not published until 1577.

Open to the title page.

14

Juan Pérez Bocanegra. Ritual formulario, e institución de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este reyno, los santos Sacramentos. Lima: 1631.

Bocanegra, a Franciscan, was in Peru for over forty years, where he held, among other offices, that of general examiner at Cuzco.

This formulary is the first in Quechua to conform to the revised rituals promulgated by Paul V. Although Bocanegra wrote six works in Quechua, this is the only one that was printed.

Open to the title page.

Diego Gonzalez Holguín (1552-1617). Gramática y arte nueva de la lengua general de todo el Perú, llamada Quichua[sic], o lengua del Inca. Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1607.

Gonzalez Holguín, a Jesuit, was born in Cáceres, Spain, and entered the order in 1568. He came to Peru in 1581 and in the course of his duties traveled extensively in Peru and Paraguay.

This grammar/dictionary of Quichua remains one of the better such works published. It is more accurate than its predecessors and much fuller than the smaller work published in 1586 by Torres Rubio.

Open to the title page.

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III

Religious Histories

Religious histories dealing with the spiritual conquest of the New World rapidly took their place alongside their secular cousins. Shown here in this section are histories of the various orders, various regions, and various individual priests.

24

Agustín Davila y Padilla (1562-1604). Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Santiago. Madrid: Madrigal, 1596.

Davila y Padilla, a Dominican, was born in Mexico. On a trip to Spain, he preached a sermon which Felipe II heard; the monarch was so impressed that he appointed Davila as archbishop of Santo Domingo and chronicler of the Indies.

This history, written in Santo Domingo, is actually a compilation and revision based on manuscript sources antedating Davila's efforts. The work had been translated into Latin before being translated back into Spanish and completed by Davila.

Open to the title page.

25

Alonso Fernández (b. 1572). Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos. Toledo: Viuda de Pedro Rodríguez, 1611.

Fernández, a native of Spain, entered the Dominican order in 1587 and held various posts throughout Spain. He was a prolific writer, and this history is considered one of his better works.

Although a general history of the progress of the Catholic religion all over the world, the work includes a substantial section on missionary efforts in the New World, particularly in Mexico. The work is of considerable interest because of its bibliography, which provides direct insight into the

16

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foundations of Fernández's work, and because of his discussions of books on Indian linguistics.

Open to the title page.

26

Pablo José de Arriaga (1564-1622). Extirpación de la idolatría del Perú. Lima: Contreras, 1621.

Arriaga, a native of Vergara, entered the Jesuit order in 1579 and was sent to Peru in 1584, where he served as a teacher and administrator in the Jesuit educational system for 24 years. On his way to Rome, his ship was caught in a deadly storm off Cuba. Arriaga's labors in ministering to those on his ship so exhausted him that he collapsed and died three hours before the ship itself finally foundered.

This book is still one of the more valuable studies of ancient Peruvian religions. Arriaga was a studious, concerned observer who tried to describe accurately and dispassionately the Indians' spiritual state and to propose effective remedies to prevent their backsliding.

Open to the title page.

27

Francisco de Losa (1536?-1624). La Vida, que hizo el siervo de Dios Gregorio López. Mexico City: Juan Ruiz, 1613.

A native of Mexico, Losa rose steadily in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Mexico. The turning point of his life occurred when he was sent by the archbishop Moya de Contreras to investigate one Gregorio López, a hermit living near Mexico City. Some said López was a saint; others held him to be a fraud and hypocrite.

López, said to be a son of Felipe II, was vindicated by this book, whose author was so entranced by his subject that he resigned his offices to go live with his mentor. After both were dead, it was so arranged that they were buried

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side-by-side so that they could be together in death as in life. The Vida was enormously popular and was translated into French, English, and Italian.

Open to the title page.

28

Antonio de la Calancha (1584-1654). Crónica moralizada del orden de S. Agustín en el Perú. Barcelona: Pedro Lacavallero, 1639.

A native of Peru, Calancha entered the Augustinian order in Lima when he was fourteen. He was deeply interested in Peruvian antiquities and travelled extensively in the country visiting and inspecting sites of Inca civilization.

The Crónica is the result of his studies and of his position as historiographer of his order. Although somewhat diffuse and rambling, the work was quite popular in its time; the republications of it in Latin in 1651 and French in 1653 were actually extracts and condensations that sought to alleviate the work's rambling nature. A second part was printed in 1653 but was not published because the author's death prevented necessary revisions. It is one of the more bizarre instances of book history that the second part was not rediscovered until 1848.

Open to the title page.

29

Bernardo de Torres. Crónica de la provincia Peruana del Orden de las Ermitaños de S. Agustín. Lima: Julian Santos de Saldaña, 1657.

Torres, a native of Valladolid, spent many years in Lima, where he held various offices in the Augustinian order. He enjoyed a solid reputation in his lifetime as a writer and historian.

The Crónica is a continuation of Calancha's history. These volumes cover from 1594 (where Calancha's left off) to May 1657, and from 1551 to 1593. They actually were printed in reverse order, so that volume I covers the later period and volume II the earlier. This book also enjoys a reputation as

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one of the finer productions to come from the press in Lima. A continuation down to 1721 was completed by Juan Teodoro Vásquez, but it has never been published.

Open to the title page.

30

Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585-1652). Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús, en las provincias del Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay, y Tape. Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1639.

Born in Lima, Ruiz de Montoya entered the Jesuit order when he was 21, after having lived a dissipated youth. He spent nearly 30 years in Paraguay and was widely respected as a historian and a linguist.

This history of the Jesuits in Paraguay and Uruguay is one of the better histories of the region. Despite some vague, imprecise passages, it does preserve many details of the order's history as told by one of the major participants in it. As did many other priests, Ruiz de Montoya condemned the cruel treatment afforded the Indians by their conquerors.

Open to the title page.

31

María de Jesús de Agreda (1602-1665). Redondez de la Tierra y de los habitantes de ella. Spain, 17th century. Manuscript on paper.

Mother Agreda was one of the outstanding mystics of the Golden Age. She entered a convent when she was only twelve and was renowned all over Europe for her piety. She was also consulted on several occasions by Felipe IV, with whom she corresponded regularly. Her best known work is La Mística Ciudad de Dios, which became the center of an extended religious controversy following its publication after her death.

The manuscript shown here is an unknown work by Mother Agreda. It is a mystical vision of the entire world, including the New World. Its existence does lend credence to the story that Mother Agreda, while in the mystical state, made over 500 trips to the New World, where she preached to

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the Indians and converted them to Christianity. Missionary friars would sometimes report encountering Indians who claimed to have been preached to and converted by a woman dressed in a habit such as Mother Agreda would have worn.

Open to the beginning of chapter 4, which treats of the New World.

32

Antonio Tello (b. 1566?). Libro segundo de la crónica miscelánea, y conquista espiritual, y temporal de la sancta Provincia de Xalisco. Jalisco, Mexico, 1653. Manuscript on paper.

Tello's history was begun in 1652, when the author was 86. He was unable for some reason to complete the work, and chapters 277-300 were composed by Jaime de Rieza Gutiérrez. The work was not published until the nineteenth century, and Book I is still lost. This manuscript consists of Book II and part of Book III.

This history is the oldest, most venerable history of Jalisco province and preserves elements of its history not recorded elsewhere. It is particularly important because it gives a good account of Nuño de Guzmán's conquest of the area.

Open to the title page.

33

Alonso de Jesús María (b. ca. 1586). Vida del venerable padre Fray Miguel de la Resurrección. Mexico, 1618. Manuscript on paper.

This biography of Fray Miguel is of interest because it is one of the few accounts preserving any record of the first Discalced Carmelite mission to the Philippines. This mission was detained in Mexico for unknown reasons, and Fray Miguel died there. This is the report to Spain concerning his life.

Open to the first page.

20

Alonso de la Rea. Crónica de la Orden de N. Seráfico P. S. Francisco, Provincia de S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacán en la Nueva España. Mexico City: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1643.

Rea, a Franciscan, entered the order in 1642 at Valladolid, Mexico, and served in a variety of offices during his lifetime, among them the first native-born provincial of the province.

When Rea wrote this history, he was official historiographer of his order. The book was widely admired for its veracity and smooth style.

Open to the title page.

Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otin (1595?-1658). Vida del Santo Padre, y gran siervo de Dios B. Francisco de Borja. Madrid: Quiñones, 1644.

Nieremberg y Otin was born to German parents who were residing in Seville at the time of his birth. He entered the Jesuit order in 1614, much to the dismay of his father, who got an order from the Papal nuncio in a futile attempt to make his son leave the order. Nieremberg y Otin proved to be a polymathic Jesuit who wrote an incredible number of books on an equally incredible number of subjects.

Francisco de Borja (1510-1572) became the Jesuits' vicar-general in 1565 and was the man responsible for the introduction of the order into the New World. This episode in Borja's life is discussed in Book III. Nieremberg extracted this single work from his larger Ideas de virtud, published a year earlier.

Open to the title page.

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IV

Science

Although one primarily thinks of clergy as contributing to the spiritual growth of the New World, their contributions to its scientific growth were impressive as well. In this section are shown some of the numerous works written by priests of the Golden Age about the New World.

36

José de Acosta (1539?-1600).

a) De natura Noui Orbis libri duo. Salamanca: Foguel, 1589.

b) Historia natural y moral de las Indias. Seville: Juan de León, 1590.

José de Acosta, a Jesuit, was widely considered by the time of his death to be the most learned member of his order in his time. He spent many years in the New World, where he was elected the second provincial of Peru. He died in Salamanca shortly after returning there from Rome.

The work shown here was first published in Latin in two books in 1589. The 1590 Spanish edition is expanded to seven books. In Book IV, Acosta described for the first time the refining of mercury and how it is used to refine silver.

The Latin edition is open to the title page; the Spanish edition, to the section on mercury.

37

Agustín Farfán (d. 1604). Tractado brebe de Medicina, y de todas las enfermedades. Mexico City: Ocharte, 1592.

Although it has been conjectured that Farfán was born in Mexico, it is now generally conceded that he was a native of Seville. After having served as one of Felipe II's court physicians, he entered the Augustinian order in 1568 after coming to the New World.

The Tractado brebe, here shown in the second, revised

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edition, was written for the use of those who treated the Indians, for whom competent medical care was difficult to come by. The cures are generally naturopathic and rely on native Mexican plants for their efficacy. One of Farfán's contemporaries noted that men who could hardly read would, using this book, perform cures as if they were Hippocrates or Galen.

Open to the beginning of Book II.

38

Alonso López de Hinojoso (1545-1597). Summa y recopilación de Cirugía, con un arte para sangrar, y examen de barberos. Mexico City: Balli, 1595.

When Hinojoso came to the New World is not known, but he did practice medicine in Mexico before entering the Jesuit order there in 1585. After completing his novitiate, he was nearly expelled because of doubts about his piety and sincerity, doubts which he overcame by the extraordinary measure of yanking out half his long beard and requesting that no final decision be made before it had had a chance to grow back to the length of the remaining half.

The first edition of 1578 was published while Hinojoso was still a secular physician. This 1595 edition is open to the plate showing the intestines, which was absent from the first edition.

39

Alvaro Alonso Barba (b. 1569). Arte de los metales, en que se enseña el verdadero beneficio de los de oro, y plata por açogue. Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1640.

Barba spent the better part of his time in the New World in Peru; however, the most significant position he held was in Potosi, where he was transferred in 1635 at the request of Juan de Lizarazu, president of the Audiencia at Charcas. By that time, Barba was already an expert in mining. He was eventually recalled to Spain to advise the government on mining in 1657. Two subsequent permits for him to return to Peru were revoked because the government needed his services at home.

Barba's Arte is one of the few early Spanish books on mining

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that has any value, and its author's fame rivaled that of Georg Agricola, the eminent German metallurgist. It was reprinted even in the eighteenth century. The work is particularly important because of the advances in amalgamation it proposes.

Open to the illustrations of various smelting and refining furnaces.

40

Gregorio García (d. 1627). Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo, e Indias Occidentales. Valencia: Rey, 1607.

García, a Dominican, was born and died in Baeza, Spain. He spent many of the intervening years, however, in the New World, first in Mexico and later in Peru. Although his works reveal a man who was a careful, patient researcher, they also reveal that García was not particularly astute at interpreting his raw information. It has been conjectured, for example, that his work on evangelizing the Indians was popular because of its outlandishness rather than its instructional value.

The Origen de los Indios, shown here in the first edition, was one of the numerous works of anthropology which tried to explain the origins of the New World Indian tribes. García concludes that the first Indian tribes were originally Hebrews; other tribes were made up of Greeks and Romans who came after them.

Open to the title page.

41

Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otín (1595?-1658). Historia Natvrae, maxime peregrinae, libri XVI. Antwerp: Moreti, 1635.

The Historiae naturae is a catalogue of the flora and fauna in the New World and includes numerous interesting woodcuts.

Open to the picture of the rattlesnake, which begins the section on serpents.

24

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V

Literature

The output of Spanish clergy in the realm of prose, poetry, and music was not prolific compared to their secular counterparts. Nevertheless, enough such writing was done to constitute a considerable body of such literature.

42

Juan de Castellanos (1522-1605). Primera parte de las Elegías de varones ilustres de las Indias. Madrid: Gomez, 1589.

Castellanos began his career as a soldier but decided instead to become a priest. He spent many years in the New World, a circumstance which has led some to believe he was from there, a theory now generally dismissed.

Despite the fact that the Elegías is in some respects an epic and thus qualifies as imaginative literature, it is equally history versified. Actually verse biographies of the major figures in the exploration and conquest of the Spanish New World, the work is read as much for its factual content as for its literary merit. Interest in its value as history is heightened by the fact that Castellanos knew personally many of the men about whom he wrote.

This work did not have a happy publication history. Only the first part shown here appeared on time. Parts two and three were not published until 1847, and part four did not appear in print until 1886.

Open to the title page.

43

Martín del Barco Centenera (1535-1602). Argentina y conquista del Rio de la Plata, con otros acaecimientos de los reynos del Perú, Tucumán, y estado del Brasil. Lisbon: Crasbeck, 1602.

After completing his studies and entering the priesthood,

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Barco Centenera accompanied Ortiz y Zárate in 1572 on the expedition to Río de la Plata. He held various offices in Paraguay and Peru but died in disgrace because of charges that he actually led an unsavory life, his outward piety notwithstanding.

This poem, in 28 cantos, has great historical value because of the eyewitness details it preserves.

Open to the title page.

44

Juan Navarro. Liber in quo quatuor passiones Christi Domine contientur integre litera. Mexico City: López Dávalos, 1604.

Navarro, a native of Cadiz, was a Franciscan who served in Michoacán. This book, containing his original compositions, sets to music the Gospel passions. Some passages from Jeremiah are also set to music.

This is one of the more handsome books published in Mexico during the early days of printing there. Open to the end of Matthew and the beginning of Mark.

45

Juan Rodríguez de León. Panegyrico Augusto, Castellano Latino. Mexico City: Bernardo Calderón, 1639.

Rodríguez de León, brother of Antonio León Pinelo, was born in Lima. After completing his studies there, he moved to Madrid, where he was preacher in the king's chapel and enjoyed considerable fame as an orator. He eventually returned to the New World as canon of the cathedral at Puebla de los Angeles, where he died. Lope de Vega praised him in his Laurel de Apolo.

This panegyric, composed while the author was canon at Puebla, is dedicated to Felipe IV and reviews events that occurred during the life of the king's father. Unfortunately, the basic Spanish text is heavily larded with Latin commentary, rendering the piece difficult to read. It is an interesting example, nevertheless, of the art of

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rhetoric as practiced by one of the more famous preachers of the New World.

Open to the printed title page.

46

Francisco Murcia de la Llana. Canciones lúgubres, y tristes, a la muerte de Don Cristóbal de Oñate. Madrid: Viuda de Fernando Correa, 1622.

Murcia de la Llana, the son of a royal censor, succeeded to his father's office and eventually assumed a position for the Spanish Inquisition.

The Canciones lúgubres is actually a collection brought together by Murcia de la Llana, who did contribute some of the poems. The subject of the book, Cristóbal de Oñate, was the scion of a noble Spanish family and one of the early conquerors of Mexico, where he held several important posts for the government. Of some interest is that one of the censors for this volume was Lope de Vega.

Open to the title page.

47

Fernando de Valverde. Santuario de N. Señora de Copacabana en el Perú. Poema sacro. Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1641.

Little is known of Valverde except that he was born in Lima and was an Augustinian. In 1636, he went from Cuzco to Copacabana to worship at the shrine of the Virgin Mary there. His experiences at Copacabana so inspired him that he wrote this heroic poem in praise of the Virgin. He chose a bucolic style for his poem; thus, the story of Graciano is replete with nymphs and satyrs who inhabit the mountains of Peru.

Open to the title page.

27

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48

Francisco Corchero Carreño. Desagravios de Christo en el triumpho de su Cruz contra el judaismo. Mexico City: Ruiz, 1649.

Born in Spain, Corchero Carreño came to Mexico at an early age. After completing his studies, he served for about 30 years as the chaplain to the prison at Mexico City. He was widely admired in Mexico as a poet, and after his death it was discovered that he had versified many of the lives of the prisoners to whom he had ministered.

The Desagravios, a verse history of Christ's life, is Corchero Carreño's major work.

Open to the text and woodcut explaining the positions of the stars at Christ's birth.

Exhibition prepared by
Everett C. Wilkie, Jr.
Bibliographer
John Carter Brown Library

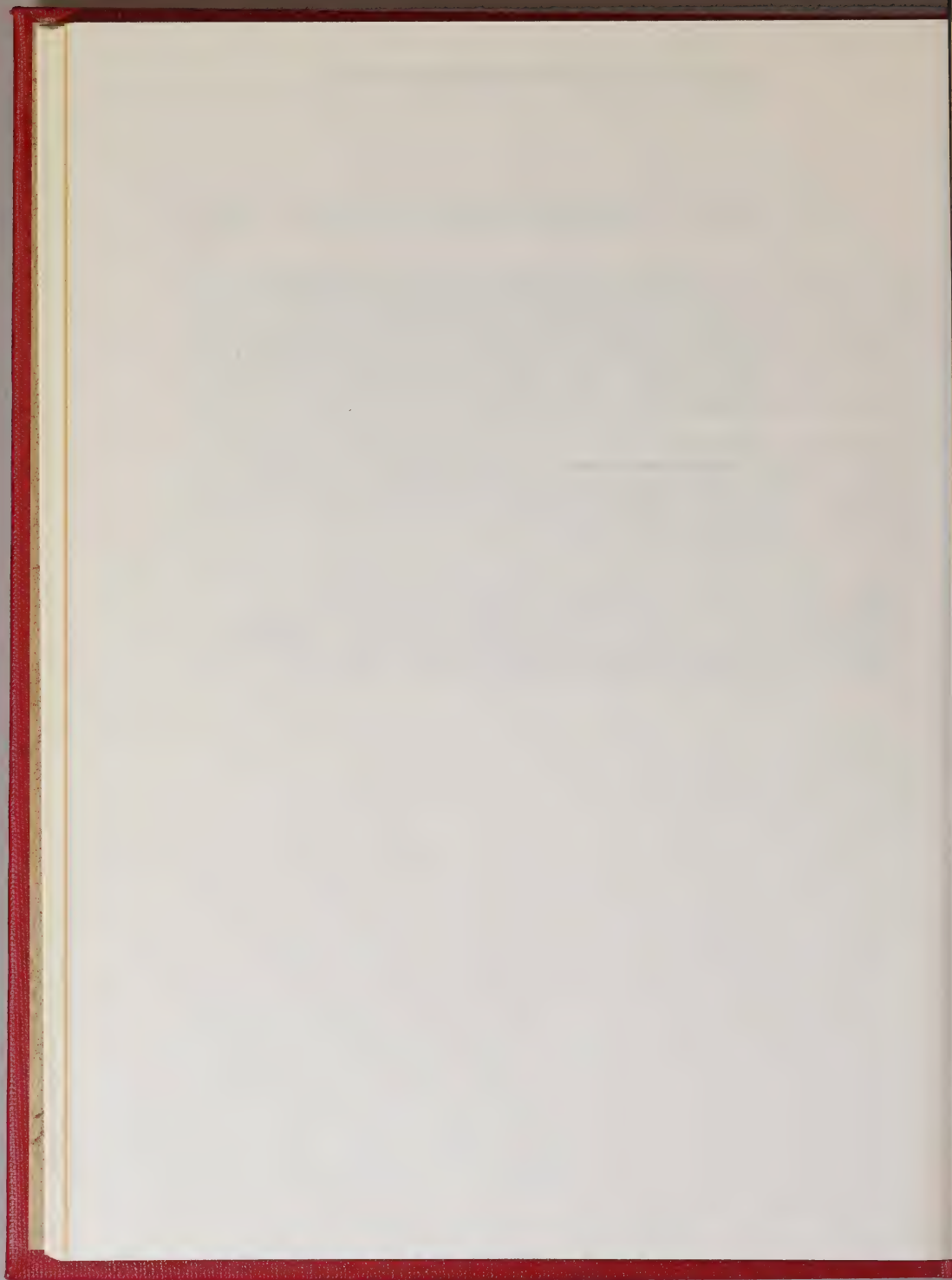
THE SPANISH CHURCH AND THE NEW WORLD

About the John Carter Brown Library

The library was founded as a private library in the middle of the nineteenth century by John Carter Brown, a prominent Providence merchant who developed an interest in books about America. After his death, the library, known as the "Biblioteca Americana," was continued by his wife and his son, John Nicholas Brown. Upon the latter's death in 1900, the library came to Brown University. The present building, also given as part of the bequest, was opened in 1904.

The library enjoys an international reputation as one of the finer collections of Americana in the world. Built upon the premise that it will collect any work concerned with the Americas during the Colonial Period, the library continues to collect actively in that field. Recent acquisitions are also on display in the Reading Room.

The library currently offers fellowships for scholars who wish to work in its collections. If you would like information about the fellowship program, please give your name and address to any staff member or write to: Norman Fiering, Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 02912, USA.







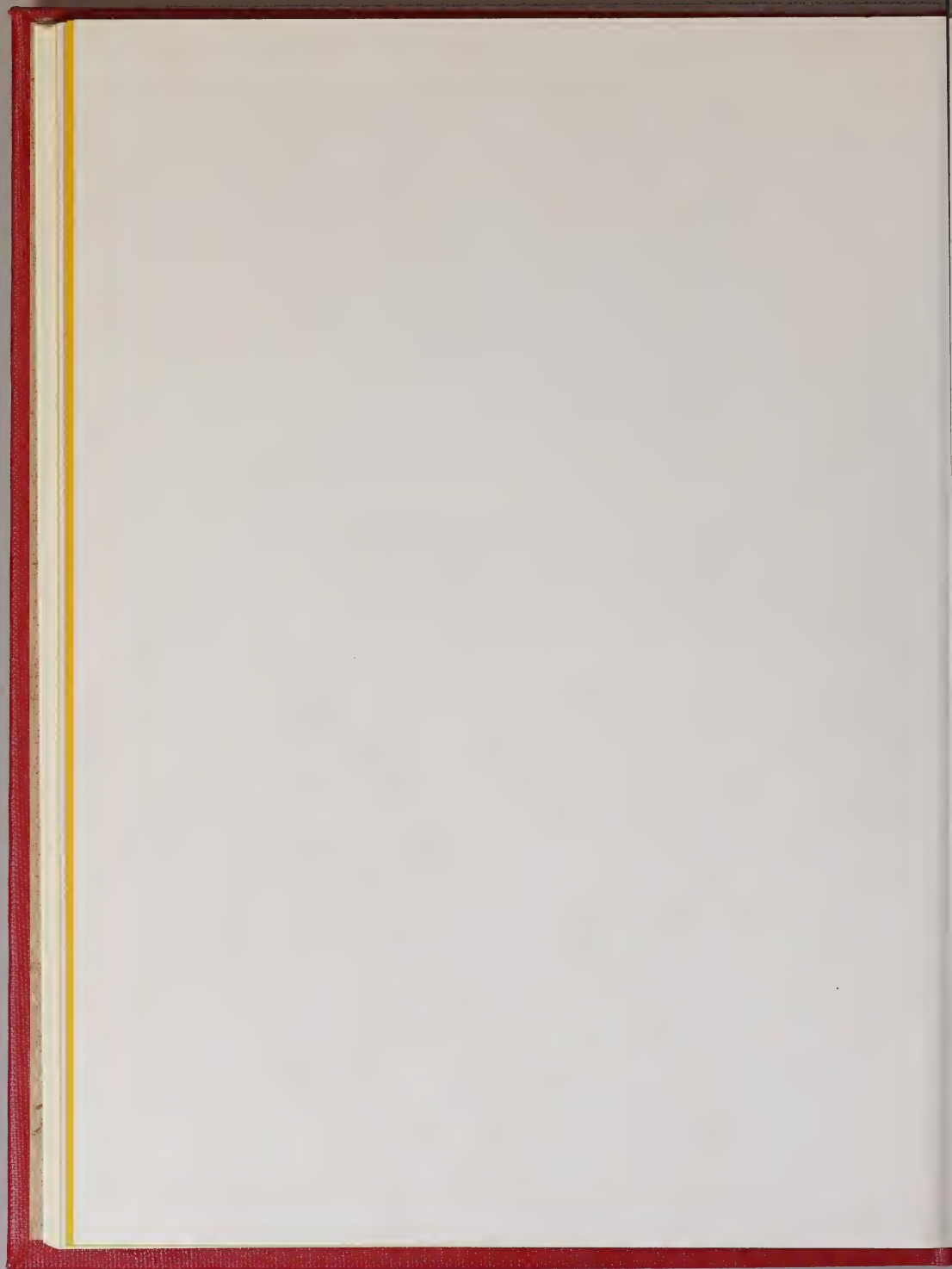


Die wunderbare Neue Welt:
German Works in the
John Carter Brown Library

Catalogue of an exhibition opened at the
Fortieth Annual Meeting of the Associates
of the John Carter Brown Library
compiled by Ilse E. Kramer.

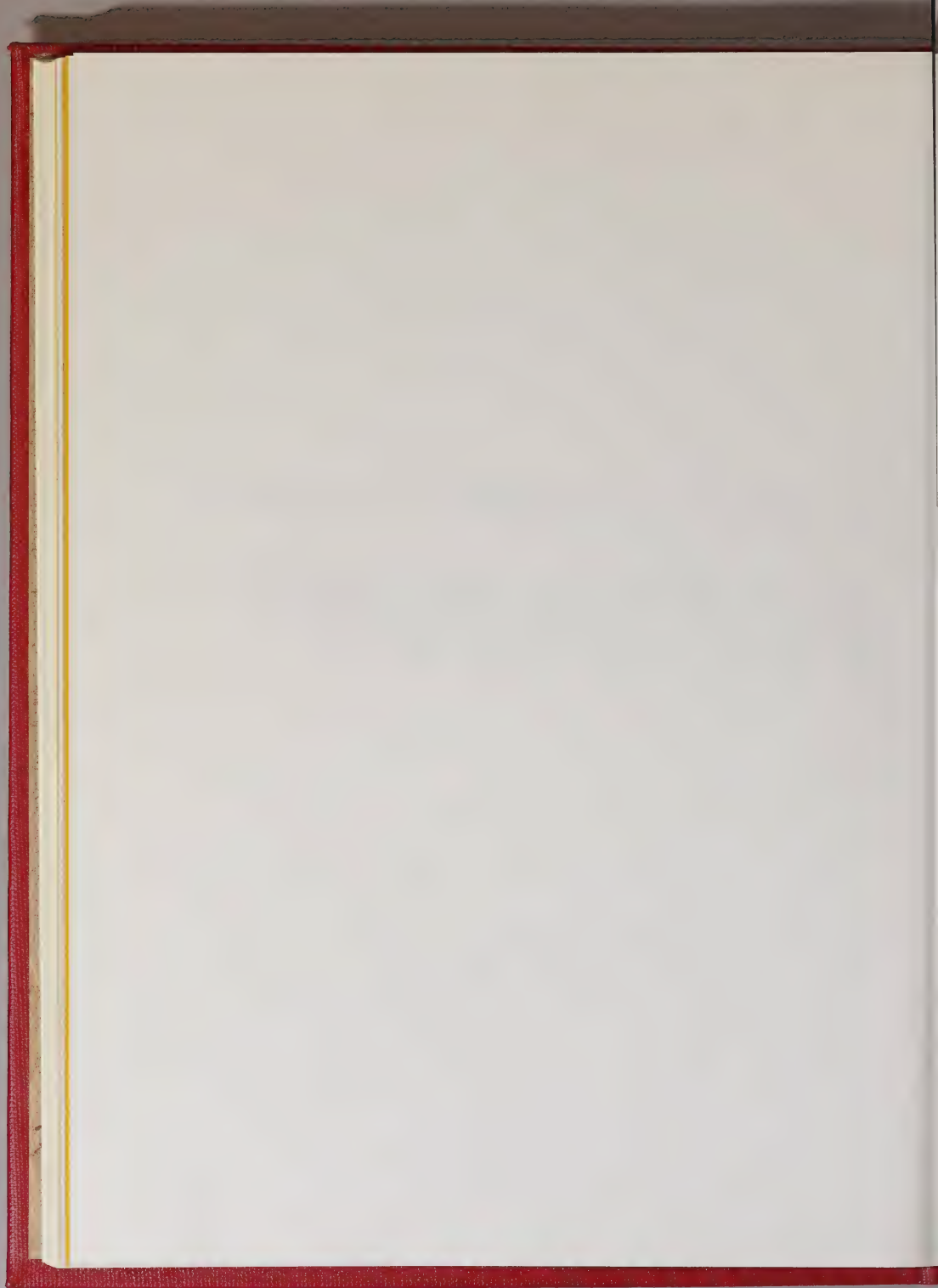
May 3, 1983

Providence, Rhode Island



This exhibition is in celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania, and the beginning of German immigration to the American colonies.

President Reagan and the U.S. Congress have designated 1983 as the "Anniversary year of German settlement in America." The John Carter Brown Library is pleased to display some of its treasures in the field of German Americana as a contribution to the German-American Tricentennial, 1683-1983.



I. DISCOVERY

1. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, 1446/51-1506.

Ein schön hübsch lesen von etlichen Inssien. Strassburg, 1497.

The "German Columbus letter" was translated from the Spanish text first published in Barcelona, 1493.

It has been suggested that this German edition was preceded by a publication of the Columbus letter in Ulm, of which no copy has survived.

The woodcut on the title page depicts the Emperor Maximilian with entourage in the presence of Jesus Christ, originally designed for Johannes Lichtenberger's Prenosticatio, also produced in 1497 by the same printer, Bartholomäus Kistler.

"There I saw no towns nor castles alongside the coast of the ocean, but found several huts and cabinlike buildings. About the inhabitants I have nothing to say, for when they spied us, they ran away."

2. HARTMANN SCHEDEL, 1440-1514.

Das Buch der Croniken und Geschichten. Augsburg, 1496.

"The Nuremberg Chronicle" is the most profusely illustrated book of the fifteenth century. The woodcuts are designed by Albrecht Dürer's teacher Michael Wolgemut and by Wilhelm Pleydenwurff. The Library owns the original Latin edition and the German translation which appeared simultaneously in Nuremberg, 1493.

"Outside of the above mentioned three parts of the world there is a fourth part surrounded by the ocean ... ; this part is unknown to us on account of the heat of the sun, and it is said that its inhabitants point with the soles of their feet in our direction."

3. JOHANN FRIEDRICH STÜVEN.

De vero novi orbis inventore. Frankfurt, 1714.

This dissertation claims that Martin Behaim (1459?-1506) discovered America. The unfounded claim was first set forth by Johann Christoph Wagenseil in 1682.

Behaim was a navigator and cosmographer and, incidentally, one of the inventors of the astrolabe. It is presumed that as a young man he was a pupil of Regiomontanus.

Behaim was a friend and assistant to Christopher Columbus. It is known that he encouraged Columbus to sail west, but there is no indication that he had any knowledge of the existence of the American continent.

"Do not consider yourself more fortunate for having received plenty of silver and gold from the New World. We would indeed be much better off without those cursed metals, which have caused nothing but trouble and misery."

4. MARTIN WALDSEEMÜLLER, 1470-1521?

Orbis typus universalis. Nuremberg? ca. 1507.

Waldseemüller edited and brought up to date Ptolemy's Geographia. He invented the name "America" for the New World.

Displayed here is the so-called Stevens-Brown map, an earlier, though substantially similar version of the world map which appears in the 1513 Ptolemy. It was acquired by the Library in 1901 under the erroneous assumption that it was the map referred to by Waldseemüller in his Cosmographiae introductio. That map (a large wall map) was discovered in Wolfegg Castle in Württemberg later in 1901.

5. MARTIN WALDSEEMÜLLER, 1470-1521?
Cosmographiae introductio. Saint-Dié, 1507.

Waldseemüller was a member of the "Gymnasium Vosagense," a small circle of humanists in St. Dié. He frequently used the Grecized form of his name "Ilacomilus" or "Hylacomylus."

The Cosmographiae introductio was designed to accompany a globe and a map showing the world, the New World being designated America.

"Now truly these parts [Europe, Africa, Asia] have been more widely explored, and another, fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius ... and I do not see why anyone should rightly forbid naming it Amerige ... after its discoverer Americus, a man of acute genius, or America, inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have received their names from women."

6. NEWE ZEITUNG. von dem Lande. das die Sponier funden haben ym 1521. Jahre genant Yucatan. Augsburg? 1522.

By the end of 1522 the conquest of Mexico had been practically completed. Neue Zeitung is a news-letter or news "plaque." It, as well as two other German tracts, may be accounted for by the world-wide interests of the mercantile house of Fugger of Augsburg, whose correspondents everywhere sent home as a matter of routine privately acquired information.

"In this country much gold is to be found, the cottages have thatched roofs and are built from stone; there is a town hall as well as a market place."

7. NEUWE WELT: Das ist, warhafftige Beschreibung aller schönen Historien von Erfindung viler vnbekanten Königreichen. ... Zusammen getragen. durch Vlrich Schmid. Frankfurt, 1567.

Ulrich Schmidel (1510?-1579?), the compiler and, in part, author of this work, served as a common soldier in South America. He shared in many of the famous Spanish explorations and conquests of his day. In 1534 he took part in the expedition of Don Pedro de Mendoza. The ship on which he sailed belonged to Jakob Welser and Sebastian Neithart. The account of Schmidel's travels is of great historical value.

"Such is the custom of the Indians that when one of them keeps a distance of several feet from his enemy, stands still and begins to talk, he bears him evil."

8. FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA, d. 1559.

Historia dell' Indie Orientali, scoperte, & conquistate da' Portoghesi. Venice, 1577. Former owner: SEBALD WELSER, 1557-1589.

The Welsers (of Augsburg and Nuremberg) owned the richest banking and commercial firms in the first half of the 16th century; they lent large sums to Charles V, and were granted the right to colonize Venezuela. Dalfinger, Hohermuth von Speier, P. von Hutten, and N. Federmann were engaged by the Welsers in this enterprise. Great numbers of the Indians were enslaved, and far more were killed. The charter was revoked in 1546, after the Welsers were reputed to have lost three million florins.

Sebald Welser was the son of Jakob Welser, who is known for his especially lively interest in the lands around the Rio de la Plata.

"May we emphasize the important part played by the Germans in the discovery of South America and the adventures of Nicolaus Federmann and the Franconian Knight Philipp von Hutten under the sovereign authority of the Welsers in Augsburg."

9. PHILIPP VON HUTTEN, 1511?-1546.

Ain andere Histori, von newlich erfundnen Inseln, der Landtschafft Indie. In: Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) Von dem neuen Hispanien. Augsburg, 1550.

"And where they [i.e. Pamphilo de Narmes and four or five Christians] captured ailing Indians, they prayed over them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and they became well. Thus sick Indians were brought to them from a great distance, and more than ten thousand people followed them, so that at times they had to hide from them; the Indians worshipped them the way they had worshipped the sun and the moon before."

Philipp was a cousin or a nephew of the more famous Ulrich von Hutten. He was one of the leaders of the Welser family's colonizing efforts. In 1541 he became Captain-General in Venezuela. Five years later he died there by assassination.

The main part of von Hutten's accounts was first published in 1550 as one of the appendices to the narrations of Hernán Cortés to Charles V of the conquest of Mexico. This first publication of von Hutten's papers was referred to by bibliographers in 1857 and again in 1903. Then it fell into oblivion, until in 1977 John Alden, eminent bibliographer, identified the report.

In 1785 a second version of Hutten's accounts appeared. This version was published by Johann Georg Meusel, who had no knowledge of the 1550 printing. The manuscript used by Meusel was seen by the bibliographer Konrad Häbler at the beginning of this century at the archives of the von Gemmingen family. Attempts by Professor Albert Schmitt of Brown University to locate this ms. have so far been without result.

10. PHILIPP VON HUTTEN, 1511?-1546.

Zeitung aus India Junckher Philipps von Hutten. Aus seiner, zum Theil unleserlich gewordenen Handschrift. In: Historisch-litterarisches Magazin. In Gesellschaft mehrerer Gelehrten angelegt von Johann Georg Meusel. Erster Theil. Bayreuth, Leipzig, 1785.

"This land is a land of trials and tribulations, and many a man does not survive them; but whoever survives the ordeal, will be strong and sound forever."

11. NIKOLAUS FEDERMANN.
Indianische Historia. Hagenau, 1557.

Along with P. von Hutten and Georg Hohermuth von Speier, Federmann traveled in Venezuela in the employ of the Welsers of Augsburg, looking for the elusive El Dorado. Eventually the Welsers accused him of having betrayed their interests (as, indeed, he probably had). Federmann was known for his courage and energy as well as his selfishness and cruelty.

"I set out once more on another ship, owned by my lords the Welsers for Venezuela."

"What we call the New World ... is rich in treasures such as gold, precious stones, fragrant wood and spices ... for which we should be thankful to the Lord."

12. MARTIN LUTHER, 1483-1546.
Supputatio annorum mundi. Geneva? ca. 1545.

Luther's "Annals of the world" contain a reference to syphilis.

Since 1517 the discovery of America has been associated with the spread of syphilis to Europe, although the thesis that the venereal disease had its provenance in the New World remains the most controversial issue in medical history.

"A new French or Spanish sickness was brought from the recently discovered islands in the West into Europe. One of the great signs before Judgment Day."

13. SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER, 1489-1552.

Cosmographie oder Beschreibung aller Länder. Basel, 1564.

Münster was a geographer, mathematician, orientalist, and professor of Hebrew. The work shown here is the first description in detail of the world written in German. It was first published in Basel, 1544. The printer, Heinrich Petri, was Münster's stepson.

"Thereupon they came to another tribe, where they found a multitude of pearls, and they traded mirrors and little bells for the pearls."

14. HANS STADEN.

Wahrhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen. Marburg, 1557.

Staden enlisted in a Spanish expedition for the Río de la Plata. He spent a little over four years in Brazil (1549-1554), the last nine months in captivity among the cannibalistic Tupinamba Indians.

The account of his sufferings was translated into French, Dutch, and Latin during the second half of the sixteenth century.

"I give thanks to the Lord for his mercy which preserved me, when I was captured by the savages in Brazil, called the Tupi Indians, who eat human flesh."

II. DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

15. BALTHASAR SPRINGER, fl. 1505-1509.
 Die Reyse val[n] Lissebone om te vare na de[n] eyla[n]dt
 Naguaria. Antwerp, 1508.

The authorship of this pamphlet has been erroneously ascribed to Amerigo Vespucci. The little work is a plagiary of Springer's Latin narrative of a voyage to India. ("Naguaria" refers to Nagore, a town in India, port on Coromandel Coast). Springer was employed by the Welsers, merchant-bankers of Augsburg and Nuremberg.

Four of the woodcuts are by Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531), probably a pupil of Albrecht Dürer.

"In this voyage we have sailed around the fourth part of the world."

16. FRANCISCUS DRAECK. Nobilissimus eques Angliae. Germany? ca. 1588.

This broadside may have been published soon after the repulse of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The poem acclaims the English naval hero Sir Francis Drake (1540?-1596) as a defender of Protestantism and of the particular doctrines upon which the reformed English Church had taken its stand.

Another copy of the portrait alone exists in the Library of Congress.

17. HANS STADEN.

Americae tertia pars memorabile[m] provinciae Brasiliae historiam continet[n]s. Frankfurt, Theodor de Bry, 1592 [i.e. ca. 1597].

This edition of Staden's account was published by Theodor de Bry (1528-1598). De Bry was born in Liège, where he started out as an engraver, painter and goldsmith. In 1570 he established a printing and engraving house in Frankfurt, his two sons assisting him. The De Brys are best known for their collections of works of travel (begun in 1590), of which there are different editions in Latin and German. The volumes are illustrated with many engravings from De Bry's hand. This is the third part of the so-called "Great Voyages."

"The singing and playing of the savages: ... they stamp their right foot vehemently and spit ... ; they all sing, as if with one hoarse voice, this often repeated song: He he hua he hua he hua hua."

18. SIR WALTER RALEIGH, 1552?-1618.

Kurtze wunderbare Beschreibung. dess goldreichen Königreichs Guianae in America. ... Jetzt aber ins Hochdeutsch gebracht ... durch Levinum Hulsium. Nuremberg, Levinus Hulsius, 1599.

Levinus Hulsius (d. 1606) was a writer, printer, and bookseller born in Flanders. He had a printing establishment in Nuremberg and later in Frankfurt. Among his friends were the De Brys.

The series "Sammlung von sechs und zwanzig Schiffahrten ... durch Levinus Hulsius ... ins Deutsche übersetzt" was started by him in 1598, and continued from part 9 on by his widow and successors. This is the fifth part of the collection.

"One of the curious facts about America is that there are people to be found without heads and necks; their eyes are located in their chests."

19. EBERHARD WERNER HAPPEL, 1647-1690.
Mundus mirabilis tripartitus. Ulm, 1687-1689.

Happel became a writer to ward off starvation ("fami non famae scribens"). He was one of the most prolific novelists of his time. However, his relatively few historical works are valued much more highly.

His Mundus mirabilis tripartitus includes a chapter on Indian languages.

"Since I am aware of the fact that most Europeans think of the Americans as coarse and savage people, who are in no way equal to those living in Europe, I endeavour to show ... that the intelligence and wit of the Americans is far from inferior."

20. LE BANQUEROTTEUR EN DESEPOIR; das ist der verzweifelnde Banquerottirer welchem bey dem mississippischen Lufft- und Wind-Handel das Maul ... geschmieret ... Hamburg? 1720.

The work purports to be the lament of a poor fellow who invested his property in the Mississippi Bubble, expecting to make his fortune; instead he was reduced from roast meat to bread. The Mississippi Bubble was a speculative scheme formed under the lead of John Law, which resulted in a financial panic in 1720. Law expanded far beyond its assets the stock in a company to colonize the Mississippi area.

This is the only recorded copy of this edition.

"I do not mean to say that the inventor of the Mississippi shares ... intended to rob the buyers of their capital."

21. LEONHARD HANSEN, d. 1685.

Dass wunderbarliche Leben, und vil werther Todt der ehrwürdigen Schwester Rosa de S. Maria von Lima. Innsbruck, 1667.

Saint Rose, of Lima (1586-1617), is the first American-born saint. She is said to have worn a metal spiked crown on her head, concealed by roses. Hansen's Latin biography of Rosa of Lima became very popular and was translated into four different languages.

"Lima, commercial center and capital of the Kingdom of Peru, situated in America, brought forth the precious Rose of the New World."

22. WILHELM GUMPPENBERG, 1609-1675.

Marianischer Atlas das ist Wunderthätige Mariabilder. Ingolstadt, 1657.

Gumpfenberg, a Jesuit, held a position at the Vatican for several years. His book on shrines of the Virgin Mary sold rapidly. Of the second edition, for instance, six thousand copies are said to have been sold in Europe within six months.

"In Chile ... there is a mountain with a natural cave ... which contains a statue of Mary ... formed by nature with divine assistance. ... The cave was hidden by brambles, until a baptized Indian boy was chosen to discover it and sing the praises of Mary."

23. ANTON SEPP VON REINEGG, 1655-1733.

Antonii Sepp, und Antonii Böhm, der Societät Jesu Priestern deutscher Nation ... Reissbeschreibung. Nuremberg, 1696.

Father Sepp has been called one of the most conspicuous figures in missionary history, also "a true apostle of Paraguay." One authority has said of the Reissbeschreibung: "A travel record written with inviting charm."

"I have baptized more than a hundred children in a brief period of time, many of whom left this earth shortly thereafter, others are still alive."

24. ANABAPTISTICUM et Enthusiasticum Pantheon und geistliches Rüst-Hauss, wider die alten Quacker. Frankfurt, 1702.

This is a reissue, with general title page, of various tracts against the Anabaptists, Quakers, Jews, etc. The compilation has been attributed to Johann Friedrich Corvinus.

"In Martins [sic] Vineyard (South of Boston and of Cape Cod) in the year of 1651 appeared a book by H. Whitfield ... [about] an Indian named Hiacome ... who ... said: I shall give up all my other gods, and hold onto The Only God."

25. FRIEDRICH JULIUS ROTTMAN, b. 1686.
Rituale Nupturientium, oder: Beschreibung der Hochzeit-Gebräuche. Bremen, 1715.

This work includes three chapters on marriage customs in America.

"In Chile ... [the young man] adorns the neck of his sweetheart's father with turquoise and silver to show him how much of a marriage portion he has to offer."

26. CLAUDE MARIE GUYON, 1699-1771.
Geschichte derer Amazonen. Berlin [etc.], 1763.

The fable of the tribe of female warriors said to have existed in South America is based on an Indian myth. The Amazons formed a state, devoted to war and hunting, from which men were excluded.

The translator of this Geschichte, Johann Georg Krünitz (1728-1796), was a physician and compiler of encyclopedias.

Guyon's work includes a brief bibliography of Amazon literature in various languages.

"Even though I do not want to insist that the Amazons in the New World live in a colony of their ancient dwelling places in the Old World, there are nevertheless reasons for considering this as a possibility."

27. JOHANN FRIEDRICH FRITZ.

Orientalisch- und occidentalischer Sprachmeister.
Leipzig, 1748.

The Sprachmeister contains contributions by Benjamin Schultze. The second part "Orationis Dominicae Versiones" includes the Lord's Prayer in eight American languages.

"The various languages in America are as different from each other as the European languages; it is unfortunate that our knowledge of the former is so scant."

28. BALTHASAR FRIEDRICH LEIZEL, fl. 1794-1799.

Philadelphia. Die Haupt Stadt in der nord-americanischen Provinz Pensylvanien. Augsburg, ca. 1776.

29. BALTHASAR FRIEDRICH LEIZEL, fl. 1794-1799.

Neu Yorck. Eine Stadt in Nord-America. Augsburg, ca. 1776.

These prints were copied from William Woollett's engraved view of the Royal Dock Yard at Deptford. Part of that engraving was transformed by Leizel into his view of New York, the other part into his view of Philadelphia.

The prints are examples of the "Vues d'optiques" in the Collection des Prospects series intended to be shown in a peep show. For that reason the captions are in mirror writing. In Germany the apparatus used for peep shows or raree shows was called "Guckkasten" or "Schaukasten."

30. FRANZ XAVIER HABERMANN, 1721-1796.

Die Zerstörung der Königlichen Bild Säule zu Neu Yorck.
Augsburg, ca. 1776.

31. FRANZ XAVIER HABERMANN, 1721-1796.

Schröckenvolle Feuersbrunst welche zu Neu Yorck von denen
Americanern in der Nacht vom 19. Herbst Monat 1776. angelegt
worden. Augsburg, ca. 1776.

Habermann was one of the most original engravers in the
rococo style. The two prints shown here are "vues optiques"
of imaginary scenes.

III. GERMANS IN AMERICA

32. DENYS, LE CHARTREUX.

Este es un compendio breve. Mexico, Juan Cromberger,
1544.

Johann Kromberger (d. 1540) was a German printer, who
settled in Seville and later in Lisbon. In 1535 he was
invited by King Manuel to move to Mexico and establish a
printing press, becoming the first printer in the New World.

The author of this work complains: "And that then all the
churches of old Spain are accustomed to having these plays and
dances, etc. And the prelates of the churches consent to it
or permit it: and it is seen that they don't prohibit it: as
does the bishop of Mexico."

33. ENRICO MARTÍN, d. 1632.

Reportorio de los tiempos, y historia natural desta Nueva España. Mexico, En la emprenta del mesmo autor, Año de 1606.

Martín (or Martínez) was probably born in Hamburg. He was a cosmographer and printer. He served as an interpreter for the Inquisition in Mexico.

He also played an important part in the draining of the swampy areas of Mexico, an achievement later remarked upon with admiration by Alexander von Humboldt.

"The leader and captain whom these people [the Indians] followed was called Mexi, from which was derived the name Mexico and Mexicans."

34. WILLIAM PENN, 1644-1718.

Beschreibung der in America neu-erfundenen Provinz Pensylvanien. Hamburg, 1684.

William Penn was the founder, proprietor and governor of the Province of Pennsylvania. This translation of his colonization tract of 1683 contains the first description of Philadelphia and states the terms for the sale of Penn's lands.

"The first settlers in these parts have been the Germans ..., followed by the Swedes and the Finns."

35. FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS, 1651-1719.

Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pennsylvaniae. Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1700.

F.D. Pastorius' father was Melchior Adam Pastorius, a prolific writer. Frantz Daniel, a lawyer and teacher, was the founder of Germantown, Pa.

Frantz Daniel Pastorius became the agent of the Frankfurt Land Company, formed by a group of German Quakers. He crossed the Atlantic in the summer of 1683, completed negotiations

with Penn, and in October laid out the settlement of Germantown. Until his death he was the chief citizen of that town. He was also one of the most learned men in the English colonies.

"After I confronted him [William Penn] with the fact that the Germans deserved special consideration on account of their being among the very first to do business with him. Thereupon he immediately consented to let me have three lots on the outskirts of the town, originally of his younger son's portion."

36. JOHANN CONRAD BEISSEL, 1690-1768.
Urständliche und erfahrungs-volle hohe Zeugnisse.
Ephrata, Drucks der Brüderschafft, 1745.

Beissel was a baker from Eberbach near Heidelberg. He fled religious intolerance and became the founder of a brotherhood of Seventh-Day Baptists at Ephrata, Pennsylvania. In that community celibacy was required, since "the married state has originated in sin, and would therefore have to come to an end." The brotherhood excelled in the printing of books and the making of illuminated manuscripts as well as the composition of hymns.

"The author [of this work] ... suffered persecution in his native Germany thirty years ago ... and his conscience advised him: Get thee out of thy country unto a land that I will show thee."

37. CONRAD WEISER, 1696-1760.
Translation of a German letter ... on Indian affairs, for the province of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin and David Hall, 1757.

The Indians called Conrad Weiser "Holder of the Heavens." He was a pioneer settler, Indian interpreter, treaty maker, the owner of a tannery, a colonel during the French and Indian War, the first President Judge of Berks County, the father of fourteen children, a monk at Ephrata, a prisoner in an Albany jail, a hymn-writer, and traveler.

"The year following, I went on another journey to Onondago, in company with Joseph Spangenberg. ... It happened that an Indian met us, who ... had nothing but an old torn blanket, and some rags. ... He answered, he had been amongst enemies ... and so had lost all. This was in part truth, though he had disposed of some of his things amongst the Irish for strong liquors."

38. NICOLAUS LUDWIG, GRAF VON ZINZENDORFF, 1700-1760.
 B. Ludwigs wahrer Bericht de dato Germantown.
 Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin, 1742.

Count Zinzendorff, a religious reformer, became famous as the reviver and organizer of the Moravian Church. He established a colony of the persecuted brethren at Herrnhut, and later organized missions to the West Indies. He traveled extensively in America, establishing several congregations in Pennsylvania.

"My heart goes out to the Reformed Church in Germantown, of that I can assure you."

39. GERHARD TERSTEEGEN, 1697-1769.
 Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein inniger Seelen. Germantown,
 Christopher Sower, 1769.

Tersteegen, a mystic and hymn writer, was known in Pennsylvania as a poet of the German Reformed Church. The publication date of this collection of hymns happens to be the year of Tersteegen's death.

Christoph Sauer (1693?-1758) who had one of the most active colonial presses was an important transmitter of culture between Europe and America.

"We cannot deny our friends in this country, especially those who did not have the privilege of meeting Tersteegen in person, the account of his life and his convictions."

40. GOTTLIEB MITTELBERGER.

Gottlieb Mittelbergers Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750. und Rückreise nach Deutschland im Jahr 1754. Stuttgart, 1756.

Mittelberger, organist and schoolmaster from Enzweihingen near Stuttgart, traveled to Pennsylvania on a business trip to install an organ in the city of Philadelphia. He was well-acquainted with the trials which his poor countrymen were compelled to encounter. His book aimed to dissuade his countrymen from emigrating, and for that reason his statements were probably even worse than the reality.

"How miserable and troubled have been thousands of German families. First of all, the long and difficult journey took their entire fortune; secondly, a great number of unfortunates perished aboard ship and were thrown into the sea, and thirdly, most families having arrived in the New World in complete poverty, were sold into service, parents and children separately, and never saw each other again."

41. GERMANTOWN ACADEMY, GERMANTOWN, Pa.

Whereas certain persons in Germantown ... raised a sum of money by subscription ... erected ... two schools for teaching the English and German languages. Germantown, Pa., 1787.

The Germantown Academy, founded in 1759, was the first bilingual school established in the United States. The academy, open to children of all denominations, offered instruction in reading and writing and in "useful arts and sciences." This broadside is a subscription appeal from the trustees to maintain the operation of the school.

42. JUSTUS HEINRICH CHRISTIAN HELMUTH, 1745-1825.

Kurze Nachricht von dem sogenannten gelben Fieber in Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1793.

J.H.C. Helmuth was a Lutheran clergyman who in his twenty-fourth year accepted a call to Pennsylvania. During the yellow-fever epidemic of 1793 approximately 625 members of his congregation died in the course of a few months.

He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, and for eighteen years professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania. He persistently opposed the use of English in the church services.

"The first question we asked, of course, was: what is the source of this horrible malady? ... Some were of the opinion the terrible sickness originated in Philadelphia; others were convinced that it found its way to our parts on an incoming ship."

43. KURZGEFASSTES WEIBER-BÜCHLEIN. Ephrata, 1799.

This book on gynecology was first published in London, 1700. It was widely circulated among midwives and went through almost 100 editions in a century. Authorship has been ascribed to William Salmon.

"The saying goes that if a pear is kept in the room, where a woman delivers, it will slow the process down; I do not know, if there is any truth in this."

44. JOHANNES DEIGENDESCH.

Nachrichters: Oder nützliches und aufrichtiges Ross-Artzney-Büchlein. Germantown, 1791.

Deigendesch claimed to have been executioner-flogger to the Imperial General Staff as well as veterinarian. The Ross-Artzney-Büchlein first appeared in Freiburg in 1716.

"When an animal has been bitten and poisoned by a spider,

a scorpion, a snake, or some such vermin ... make a mixture of urine, dog turd, and garlic ... and apply it to the sore spot."

45. JOSUA VON KOCHERTHAL, d. 1719.

Aussführlich- und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina. Frankfurt, 1709.

Kocherthal was a Lutheran clergyman and the leader of the Palatine emigration to the province of New York. In 1708 he traveled to London and won the personal interest of Queen Anne, who sent him and fifty destitute followers to New York. In 1710 he sailed back to England and returned to America with ten shiploads of exiled Palatines.

The item shown here is a colonization tract and feasibility study for emigration, first published in 1706.

"Carolina is a very healthy land. Among the natives a person is not considered particularly old at the age of 100 years. However, we are informed that in recent times the Indians' lives are somewhat shortened, since the Europeans have influenced them to eat and drink immoderately."

46. COTTON MATHER, 1663-1728.

Nuncia bona e terra longinqua. Boston, 1715.

Mather's Nuncia bona deals with August Hermann Francke's (1663-1727) charitable work. Francke was a pietistic preacher, philanthropist, and educator. He founded a school for children of the poor at Halle (Saxony), an orphanage, and a printing press.

Incidentally, the influence of Halle Pietism, particularly that of August Hermann Francke, is evident in the reports and letters sent from the pastors from Georgia, published by Samuel Uralsperger.

"One of your country-men, hath been lately honoured with very copious letters from that admirable and illustrious person, the Professor Franckius, and his colleagues, at Hall in the Lower Saxony; which enable him to give you the

refreshment of Good news from a far country."

47. PAUL DECKER, 1685-1742.

Die zu harter Winters-Zeit geschehene Emigration der evangelischen Salzburger. Nuremberg, ca. 1732.

The Protestants were expelled from Salzburg in 1731 by the archbishop, Leopold Anton, Freiherr von Firmian. They established a colony at Ebenezer, near Savannah, Georgia.

48. SAMUEL URLSPERGER, 1685-1772.

Ausführliche Nachricht von den salzburgischen Emigranten, die sich in America niedergelassen haben. Halle, In Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1735.

Urlspurger was senior pastor at St. Anne's Church in Augsburg from 1723 on. In 1732 he organized the first transport of the persecuted Salzburger to Georgia, where they founded the settlement Ebenezer. He worked together with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which paid the salaries of the ministers and transported the distressed Protestants from Augsburg to Rotterdam. Ausführliche Nachricht is one of the many reports published by Urlspurger about the growth and financial situation of the Georgia settlement.

"Letter from a preacher in Ebenezer: ... Our young Salzburger desire to enter the state of matrimony, yet there are very few unmarried women available. Therefore we wish you should keep this our need in mind when you arrange the next transport of emigrants."

49. PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE appointed for relieving the poor Germans. London, 1765.

A committee was formed to help approximately 600 Protestant Palatines, who had been abandoned in England on their way to settle in America. They were eventually supplied with money and provisions and transported to South Carolina.

"The reader will observe from the style of this certificate that it was wrote by a German not able to express himself properly in the English language."

50. JOHN PETER ZENGER, 1697-1746, defendant.
The trial of John Peter Zenger, of New-York, printer.
London, 1752.

Zenger was brought to America at the age of thirteen, and was apprenticed by Governor Hunter, his mother ratifying his articles of indenture for a term of eight years to William Bradford. Zenger established his own printing business at New York in 1726.

In 1735 he was tried for libel because of the criticisms which appeared in his paper the Weekly Journal, on the occasion of the removal from office of Chief Justice Lewis Morris by Governor William Cosby. Zenger was acquitted; the decision is considered as a landmark in establishing the freedom of the press in America.

"But in this case of Zenger's, tho' the Council had by their resolution declared the papers published by him to be false, scandalous, malicious and seditious libels, as the jury upon his trial were upon their oaths ... they thought themselves obliged to acquit the prisoner."

51. DANIEL FRIEDRICH SOTZMANN, 1754-1840.

Rhode Island entworfen von D.F. Sotzmann. Hamburg, 1797.

Sotzmann was a geographer and clerk in the Prussian war-office. This map was intended for publication as part of Sotzmann's Amerikanischer Atlas. Hamburg, 1796-1810.

IV. AMERICAN REVOLUTION

52. LUDWIG, BARON VON CLOSEN, ca. 1752-1830.

[Plan of the island of Rhode Island under French occupation. 1780-1781].

Von Closen, born in Monsheim near Worms, was a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts (Zweibrücken) regiment and aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau during the American Revolution. Incidentally, out of the four regiments under Rochambeau, one consisted entirely of German-speaking soldiers; its name was "Deutsches Königlich-Französisches Infanterie-Regiment von Zweibrücken." In the journal of his campaigns in America, Closen refers to some 27 maps or plans that he drew or copied.

Displayed is a manuscript map of the French fortifications and fleet at Newport.

53. FRIEDRICH WILHELM LUDOLF GERHARD AUGUSTIN, BARON VON STEUBEN, 1730-1794.

[Two rough drafts, unsigned, of Revolutionary interest. Claim made to Congress for services. 1786].

Von Steuben was a Prussian captain who served as major general under Washington. He reorganized the American army, stressing the importance of order and discipline. Unlike many of his compatriots he did not return to his native Germany after the war, but settled in New York.

54. GOTTFRIED ACHENWALL, 1719-1772.
Einige Anmerkungen über Nord-Amerika. Helmstedt, 1777.

Achenwall is considered by some authorities to have been the founder of the science of statistics. He was professor of philosophy and of law at the University of Göttingen.

The work shown here was based on a conversation between Achenwall and Benjamin Franklin on the occasion of the latter's visit at Göttingen in 1766.

"There are many quarrels among the colonies concerning borders, rivers, and the export of local goods and the import of foreign products from one province to another. Should the colonies be completely independent, they would most certainly be entangled in wars with each other."

55. AUGUST LUDWIG SCHLÖZER, 1735-1809.
Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts.
Erster Theil ... 1776. Göttingen, 1780.

The opposition to a sympathetic interpretation of the American Revolution in Germany began early in 1776 under the leadership of Schlözer, professor at the University of Göttingen. On the whole, he regarded the Americans as an ill-behaved deluded people.

To a plea from Pennsylvania for funds to establish a German Latin school in Philadelphia he appended a lengthy comment to the effect that German efforts would be better spent in improving education in Germany than abroad.

"I admit that in a way the mother country has created, protected, educated and enriched the colonies; on the other hand I have to say that these colonies have been grateful and submissive as long as they needed the assistance of the mother country. ... There is a law that those, who are able to fly from (for instance) Long Island to Kingsbridge on their own, have no need of someone else's wings."

56. JULIUS AUGUST REMER, 1738-1803.

Amerikanisches Archiv. Erster Band. Braunschweig, 1777.
In 3 vols., 1777-1778.

Remer announced his undertaking of the "Amerikanisches Archiv" as a collection of works (translated from the English) intended to enable the German public to judge the American quarrel with "more exactitude ... than usual." He was a professor of history at the Collegium Carolinum in Kassel.

"All nations consist basically of three classes of people: the aristocracy, the great landowners, and the farmers. Only the second class exists in the colonies; all are equal and independent. Life is easy, and crimes and executions are rarely heard of. The population can be expected to double within an average of twenty years."

57. ANTON FRIDERICH BÜSCHINGS ... Wöchentliche Nachrichten von neuen Landcharten, geographischen, statistischen und historischen Büchern und Schriften. Fünfter Jahrgang. Berlin, 1778.

Büsching (1724-1793) was a representative of the school of writers striving to develop the scientific discipline of "Statistik." He is known for his emphasis on political geography.

"The attitude of most of the colonies, the restless spirit which had been present since the founding of some of the provinces, as well as the instigation of the British opposition party encouraged the rebellion."

58. CHRISTOPH DANIEL EBELING, 1741-1817.

Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Erster Band. Hamburg, 1793. The first of seven volumes.

"In spite of the bitter feelings throughout the province against the British government, very few people seriously considered a separation from the mother country. However, Samuel Adams sometimes expressed his hopes for independence. ... The hate for tea, which seemed to unite the merchants, the farmers, the politicians, and the ladies ... made it possible even for the women to do without their favourite beverage."

59. CHRISTOPH DANIEL EBELING, 1741-1817.

Vermischte Aufsätze in englischer Prosa hauptsächlich zum Besten derer welche diese Sprache in Rücksicht auf bürgerliche Geschäfte lernen wollen. Hamburg, 1781.

"The importer finds it more difficult, to make his returns to England from Connecticut, than from Massachusetts. Connecticut trade therefore soon returned to the state it had formerly been in. Rhode-Island, in part, became their own importers also, which they still continue."

Ebeling was a geographer, a historian, and a librarian at the Stadt-Bibliothek in Hamburg. He was one of the most important figures in bringing about closer intellectual relations between the United States and Germany. He was commissioned to supply a number of German universities, libraries, and scholars with the latest and best American publications. His personal library of some 3000 volumes was acquired by Harvard in 1818.

60. DIETRICH, FREIHERR VON BÜLOW, 1757-1807.

Der Freistaat von Nordamerika in seinem neuesten Zustand.
Erster Theil. Berlin, 1797.

Von Bülow was Ebelings chief opponent. He visited America in 1791-1792 and again in 1795-1796, involved in an unsuccessful speculation in glassware. He lost his small fortune and returned to Germany to publish a strong denunciation of the United States (Der Freistaat von Nordamerika). This work appeared in translation by John Quincy Adams in 1799.

"The German public is certainly capable of deciding for themselves, of choosing to believe either those who give the wrong impression of American freedom and happiness and try to seduce their fellow citizens to transport themselves to America, or me, who advises the Germans to consider Germany's advantages and good qualities."

61. MATTHIAS CHRISTIAN SPRENGEL, 1746-1803.

Jahrbuch der merkwürdigsten neuen Weltbegebenheiten für 1784 enthaltend die Geschichte der Revolution von Nord-America. In: Historisch-genealogischer Calender der merkwürdigsten neuen Welt-Begebenheiten. Leipzig, 1783.

Sprengel was one of the leading scholars of his day. In 1779 he accepted a professorship at Halle, where he also served as librarian. Sprengel saw the results of the American Revolution as highly favorable for both Europe and America. He portrayed, with conservative enthusiasm, the American utopia of freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and peace.

Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki (1726-1801), responsible for the plates in this volume, was a Polish-German painter and engraver. He was enormously successful as a book illustrator. He combined a distinguished sense of design with striking realism in the depiction of scenes, characters, and costumes of his times.

"Washington remained in control; the British were not in direct communication with New York by land, even though it is a mere twenty miles away from Philadelphia. ... There was a severe shortage of forage, so that fodder had to be obtained from Rhode Island."

62. FRIEDERIKE CHARLOTTE LUISE, FREIFRAU VON RIEDESEL, 1746-1808.
Die Berufs-Reise nach America. Berlin, 1800.

Freifrau von Riedesel was the wife of General Friedrich Adolf von Riedesel. She accompanied her husband to America and took her children with her. After the capitulation of General Burgoyne in Saratoga, her husband was held prisoner by the colonists for three years. The family returned to Germany in 1783.

"The city [Boston] is rather charming but filled with violent patriots and vicious people; especially the women were so nasty that they gave me dirty looks and even spit at me."

63. TRAITÉ D'AMITIÉ ET DE COMMERCE, entre Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse. Philadelphia? 1800?

This treaty was signed in Berlin, 11 July 1799; gratifications exchanged Berlin, 22 June, 1800; proclaimed at Washington, 4 Nov. 1800. The signers were Frederick William III and John Adams.

"There shall be in future, as there has been hitherto, a firm, inviolable and universal peace, and a sincere friendship, between his Majesty the King of Prussia, his heirs, successors and subjects, on the one part, and the United States of America, and their citizens on the other, without exception of persons or places."

V. SCIENCE

64. JOANNES REGIOMONTANUS, 1436-1476.
Calendar. Nuremberg, Joannes Regiomotanus, 1474.

Johannes Müller was born in Königsberg, Bavaria, from which he derived the name Regiomontanus or de Montereio. He is one of the great figures in the history of mathematics and astronomy. His Calendarium is the first application of modern scientific methods of astronomical calculation and observation to the problems of the calendar.

It is known that Christopher Columbus carried with him on his fourth voyage either a manuscript copy or an actual fifteenth century edition of the Calendarium.

Signed at end of text "By the leadership of Johannes of Königsberg."

65. SAINT ALBERTUS MAGNUS, 1193?-1280.
Habes in hac pagina. amice lector ... De natura locorum.
Vienna, 1514.

Albertus Magnus, scholastic philosopher, member of the Dominican order, and teacher at Cologne, Paris, and Strassburg, was noted as one of the foremost scholars of his time. The editor of this work, Georg Tannstetter (1482-1535) mentions Vespucci in a marginal note which seems to have been inserted with movable type after the book had been printed. Tannstetter was a mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, and physician.

"So he concludes that beyond the ecliptic, in the 50th degree, that region which Vesputius in his voyages in former years discovered and described, was habitable."

66. JOHANN KEPLER, 1571-1630.

Tabulae Rudolphinae, quibus astronomicae scientiae, temporum longinquitate collapsae restauratio continetur. Ulm, 1627 [i.e. 1629].

Kepler was one of the founders of modern astronomy. He was instructed in the Copernican theory at the University of Tübingen. His first book brought him to the attention of Galileo and Tycho Brahe. In 1601 Kepler became imperial mathematician. Tabulae Rudolphinae is his last great work.

"Thus the whole of America ... I consider part of the Western hemisphere."

67. ULRICH VON HUTTEN, 1488-1523.

[Liber de guaiaci medicina & Morbo Gallico]. In: Liber de Morbo Gallico. Venice, 1535.

Guaiacum ("Franzosenbaum" in German) is indigenous to the West Indies and was first introduced into Europe by the Spaniards in 1508. The decoction of the wood was administered against syphilis and other diseases.

Ulrich von Hutten, humanist, was a friend of Luther and Zwingli and one of the principal satirical writers of his time. He was crowned poet laureate by the emperor Maximilian I.

He was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of guaiac wood and claimed to have been cured through this remedy.

"The Spanish island ... unknown to the ancients [has] ... inhabitants ... afflicted by the French disease at some time or another, just as we are."

68. SIMON PAULLI, 1603-1680.

Commentarius de abusu tabaci Americanorum veteri, et
herbae thee Asiaticorum in Europa novo. Strassburg, 1665.

Paulli was a physician and a botanist. He attended the universities of Rostock, Leiden, and Paris, and in 1648 he became the personal physician to the King of Denmark.

In this work Paulli demonstrates his opinion of tobacco, that brutalizing, barbarous, filthy American medicine, and of tea, the noxious drug.

He admits, however: "Tabacum, or by its other names: tobacco, nicotine, Indian herbal remedy, Indian bee ripple, old queens' herb, holy weed ... has been used to heal wounds."

69. GOTTFRIED WILHELM, FREIHERR VON LEIBNIZ, 1646-1716.

Relatio ad inclytam Societatem Leopoldinam naturae
curiosorum, de novo antidysenterico Americano magnis
successibus comprobato. Hanover, 1696.

Leibniz, philosopher, mathematician and librarian to the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg was regarded in his day as a kind of universal genius.

The pamphlet on display deals with ipecacuanha, an emetic which is obtained from *Psychotria Ipecacuanha*. This plant is native to South America, and was procured, for instance, near the German colony of Philadelphia, north of Rio Janeiro. It was not used in Europe previous to 1672.

"Indeed [there are] many common simples of Brazil and Peru, and the balsam-tree itself, known as Peruvian, but also found in Brazil ... has been described by Piso [Willem Piso, a Dutch physician]."

70. ALEXANDER, FREIHERR VON HUMBOLDT, 1769-1859.
Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne.
 Paris, 1811.

Perhaps the most significant scientific works published about Spanish-America during the entire era 1800-1830 were the botanical and zoological findings of Baron Alexander von Humboldt. He had traveled in South America and Mexico from 1799 to 1804. On his way back to Europe at the conclusion of his journey through the Spanish colonies, he stopped in the United States to visit President Thomas Jefferson, who asked him to fix the new boundaries of the United States following the purchase of Louisiana.

Von Humboldt says of one of the most famous Jesuit missionaries: "Father Kino, formerly professor of mathematics at Ingolstadt and the declared enemy of the Mexican geometer Siguenza, against whom he composed several written works, arrived in 1701 at the junction of the rivers Gila and Colorado."

VI. LITERATURE

71. SEBASTIAN BRANT, 1458-1521.
Stultifera navis. Augsburg, 1497.

The original of this work appeared in Basel, 1494 under the title Das Narrenschiff. It is a long didactic poem in which Brant comments on human weaknesses and contemporary manners. The work has been called a "divina satira."

"There was one that knewe that in ye yles of spayne was enhabytantes. Wherefore he asked men of kynge Ferdynandus, & went & founde them, the whiche lyved as beestes."

72. HEINRICH KRÄMER, d. 1508.
 Malleus maleficarum. Nuremberg, 1496.

This is the most typical and influential of all books on witchcraft and demonology. It was written by Henricus Institoris (i.e. Heinrich Krämer) and Jacob Sprenger. Krämer was acting as Censor of the Faith under Pope Alexander VI, who, in 1493, issued a bull dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal.

Memorable providences by Cotton Mather is connected by a long line of ancestry and a vast body of literature tracing back to Malleus maleficarum. Mather was convinced that the New World had become the special dwelling place of the Satanic powers, driven from the Old by the advance of Christianity.

"Infidelity, ambition, and indulgence seem to be especially predominant in bad women."

73. SEBASTIAN FRANCK, 1499-1542.
 Weltbuch: Spiegel und Bildtniss des gantzen Erdtbodens.
 Tübingen, 1534.

The Weltbuch is a compilation of accounts by various authors. S. Franck was a popular writer and mystical theologian. From 1535 to 1538 Franck ran a printing-house in Ulm.

In the chapter on America Franck reports about the cannibals: "In the kitchen we found some human flesh being cured and some simmering over the fire as well as the meat of parrots, ducks and geese."

74. MARTIN OPITZ, 1597-1639.
Teutsche Gedichte ... Dritter Band. Frankfurt, 1746.

Opitz was the founder of the first Silesian school of poets. A collection of his poems was first published in Strassburg in 1624. After the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War he emigrated to the Netherlands. In 1623 he returned to Silesia, and ultimately he was made secretary and historiographer to the King of Poland, at Danzig, where he died of the plague.

"And should you make somebody gain
all of the New World's gold which came to Spain;
don't think that then his greed would tire,
the more he owns the greater his desire."

75. ALBRECHT VON HALLER, 1708-1777.
Versuch schweizerischer Gedichte. Göttingen, 1762.

Haller, a scientist and a poet, was city physician and librarian at Bern in his youth. From 1736 to 1753 he taught medicine and botany in Göttingen, then returned to his native Switzerland.

In his long didactic and philosophical poem "On the origin of evil" von Haller concludes:

"The Hurons well the force of blood and right do know,
who dwell on shores so white with snow."

76. MATTHIAS CLAUDIUS, 1740-1815.
Asmus omnia sua secum portans, oder Sämmtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Bothen, I.-III. Theil. Hamburg, Wandsbeck, 1775.

Der Wandsbecker Bote was a weekly periodical published (1771-1775) by Matthias Claudius, who wrote most of the contents. Claudius was the author of numerous lyrics, some of which have become folk songs. One of his better known short poems is entitled:

The Black Man at the Sugar Plantation.

Far away in alien lands
do I perish under foreign skies,
without comfort, helping hands;
Oh the white men, beautiful and wise,
Men who have no mercy, feeling,
I have never whipped their back.
God, in Heaven, do the healing!
I am poor, and I am black!

77. JOHANN CHRISTOPH KRAUSENECK, 1738-1799.

Die Werbung für England. Ein ländliches Lustspiel.
Augsburg, 1777.

This comedy by a little-known playwright and poet was produced, according to the title page, at the Theater of the Elector in Munich.

The ending of "The Solicitation for England" is happy, because the principal character, Fritz Knauf, is declared to be too young to be conscripted as a mercenary and therefore does not have to say farewell to his Lise.

M. Brawe: "Did you know that Fritz is in love with our Lise, that he wanted to marry her?"

V. Brawe: "No, but I do know that Fritz and others with him will be swimming away, that he will be up against the rebels, as they call them, in America, and that tomorrow Lise and her mother will be crying."

78. JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE, 1749-1832.

The sorrows of Werther. A German story. Litchfield, Connecticut, 1739 [i.e. 1789].

This sentimental novel was first published in 1774. The cult of Werther ("Wertherfieber," or "Werther-Krankheit") was exploited in many different ways. None of Goethe's works won international fame so rapidly as did his Werther. Imitations and parodies were published in several languages.

"The English translator met with [the novel] ... led on by the beauty of the work, which increased in proportion as it was attended to, the whole was insensibly finished; and as no translation from the German has hitherto appeared, it is now offered to the public."

79. JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER, 1744-1803.

Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. Zweiter Theil. Riga, Leipzig, 1786.

Herder, a clergyman and friend of Goethe's, was one of the most important writers of the so-called "Sturm und Drang" classical periods of German literature.

He thought of America as a mirror whose clear surface reflected Europe's pseudo-Christianity and degeneracy. Herder had a great admiration for the Noble Savage.

"First of all, one should be advised to generalize as little as possible about a continent, which includes so many different zones. Whoever states that America is warm, healthy, humid, low, and fertile is certainly right; another person who proclaims the opposite to be true, is also right, only he is concerned with another season and a different part of the country."

80. DER NEUE TEUTSCHE MERKUR. Dritter Band. Weimar, 1793.
 Edited by Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813).

Der Teutsche Merkur (1773-1789) is a literary and critical journal, in which Wieland as the editor published many of his own works. In the 1770's Wieland regularly reported in a politically farsighted way on the progress of the American Revolution.

American magazines included Wieland's shorter works in their entirety, or sections from his longer works in English translation.

The preface to the first American edition of Wieland's Oberon in John Quincy Adams's translation was written by William Hunter, at the time a member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island and a Trustee of the "College of Rhode Island" which later became Brown University. Hunter claimed that in Germany Wieland was "the envy of his rivals, the idol of the multitude, and the pride of his country."

Wieland writes about the city of Washington: "The colossal project should be finished by the year of 1800, and the city will stand completed and radiate the loveliness of youth. It will then be the capital of the American free states, and perhaps in a few decades ... the metropolis of America."

81. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1706-1790.

Benjamin Franklin's Jugendjahre, von ihm selbst für seinen Sohn beschrieben und übersetzt von Gottfried August Bürger. Berlin, 1792.

Franklin said of the Germans in America: "Few of their children ... learn English; they import many books from Germany. ... I am not against the admission of Germans in general, for they have their virtues, their industry and frugality is exemplary; they are excellent husbandmen and contribute greatly to the improvement of a country."

Gottfried August Bürger (1747-1794), the translator of the French original was one of the best known poets of his time and sympathetic to the so-called "Göttinger Dichterbund," or "poetical brotherhood." He was a true child of the "Sturm und Drang" period.

Because to be a Libeller, (says he)
 I hate it with my Heart.
 From Sherburne Town* where now I dwell,
 My Name I do put here,
 Without Offence, your real Friend,
 It is Peter Folgier.

*In the Island of Nantucket.

82. JEREMIAS DAVID REUSS, 1750-1837.

Das gelehrte England oder Lexikon der jetztlebenden
 Schriftsteller in Grosbritannien, Irland und Nord-Amerika ...
 vom Jahr 1770 bis 1790. Berlin, Stettin, 1791.

Reuss, historian of literature, taught at the universities
 of Tübingen and Göttingen and acted as curator at both
 university libraries.

One of the entries reads: "Franklin, Benjamin ...
 D'Alembert welcomed him upon his admission to the Académie
 Française with the following words: Eripuit fulmen coelo, mox
 sceptra tyrannis [He tore lightning from the sky, and soon the
 sceptre from tyrants]."

83. AUGUST FRIEDRICH FERDINAND VON KOTZEBUE, 1761-1819.

Die Spanier in Peru oder Rollas Tod. Ein romantisches
 Trauerspiel. Leipzig, 1796.

John Quincy Adams wrote in a letter from Germany to his
 brother Thomas: "I have seen most of the very fashionable
 dramas of Kotzebue." The dramatist wrote more than 200 plays.

Kotzebue expressed freely his contempt for freedom,
 liberal aspirations, and popular movements in general. His
 reactionary sentiments aroused strong feelings against him,
 especially among students, one of whom stabbed him to death in
 1819.

"Las Casas: ... babes were torn from their mothers' arms
 and hurled against the rocks. ... Thirteen Indians were hung
 by the neck--my God! should I reveal it!--in honour of
 Christ, and the twelve apostles. My eyes have seen these

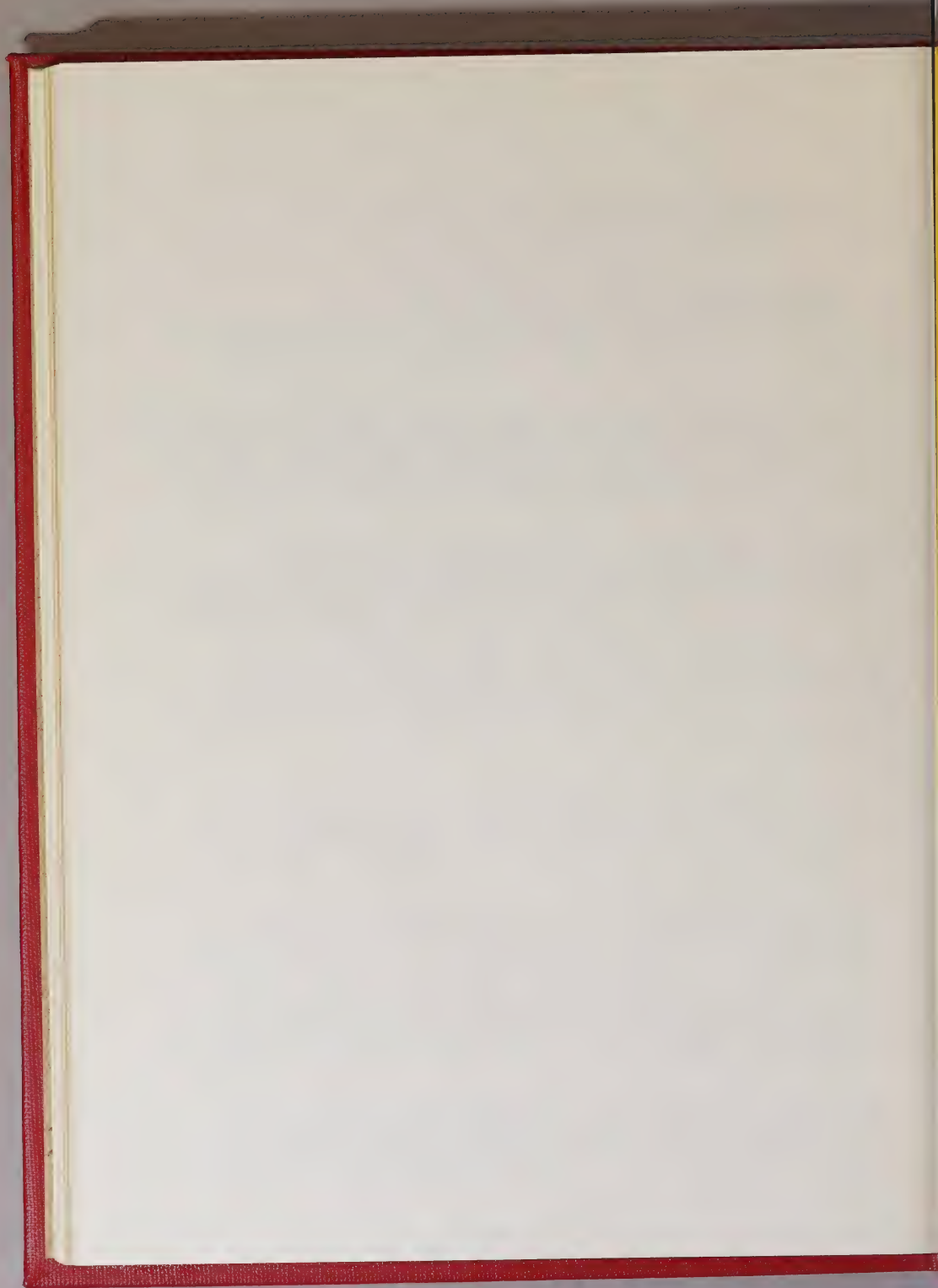
atrocities, and I am among the living!"

84. JOHANN GOTTFRIED SEUME, 1763-1810.

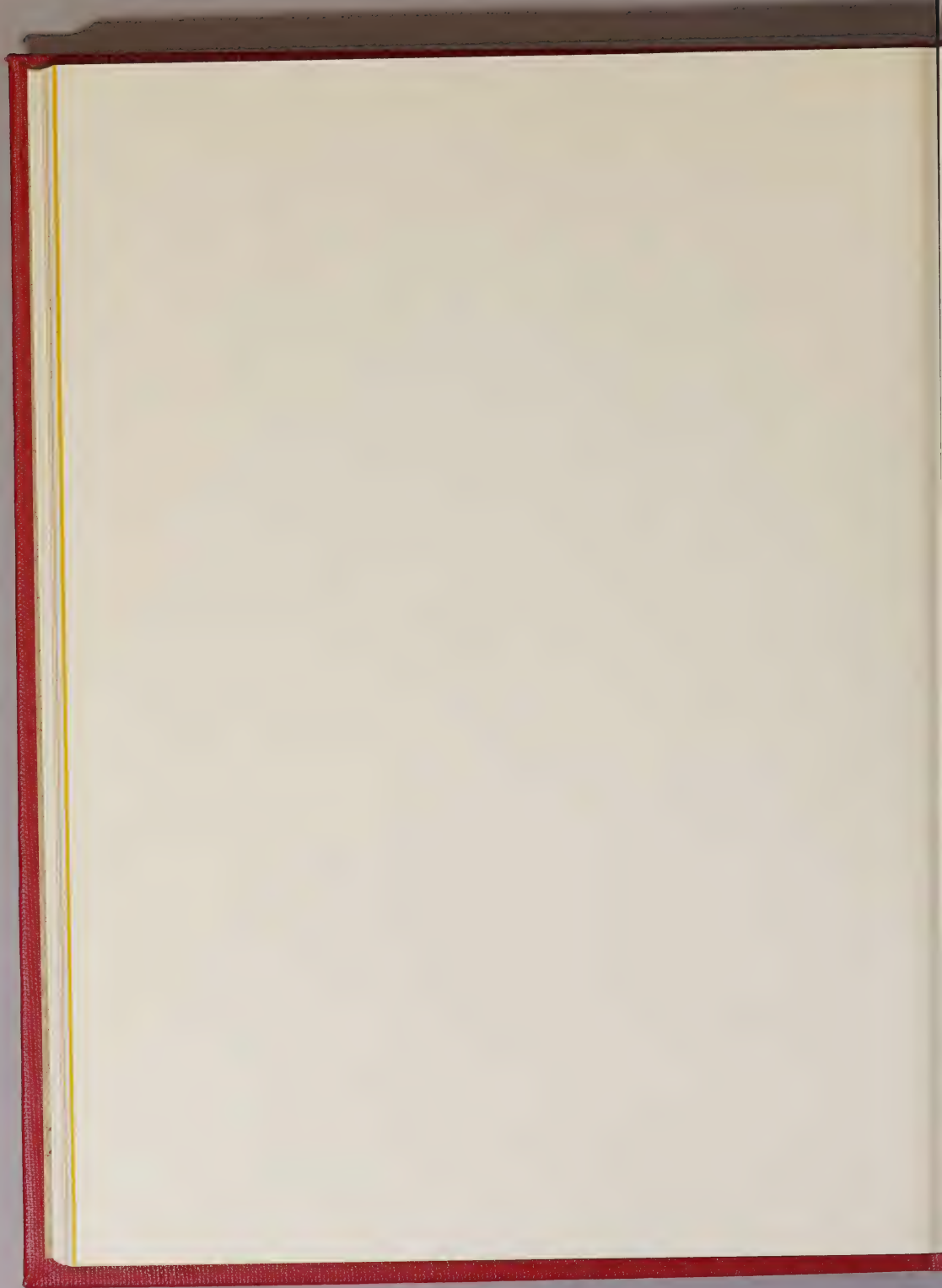
Rückerinnerungen von Seume und Münchhausen. Frankfurt,
1797.

Seume was caught by a Hessian press gang and sold into the British service during the American Revolution. He landed in Halifax, but never took an active part in the war. After his return to Germany, he held several military and academic positions and traveled extensively in Europe.

"Often we dream still about the forests of Nova Scotia,
Where the Indian handed the peace pipe to us remarking:
God be with us! My words are as true and pure as the sunbeams!
Take the pipe; and the Spirit of Spirits may guide you home."







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